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ART. I.—TEHUANTEPEC AND ITS TITLE.

As the great problem of a direct transit to the South Sea approaches solution, it has encountered political obstacles more formidable perhaps than the natural barriers which have so long impeded its completion.

The Whitney scheme, indorsed by more than twenty states, seems to have been superseded by a new design, founded upon somewhat the same basis.

The St. Louis and Pacific Rail-road protests against the partiality of Congress, in bestowing upon Atlantic interests that patronage which should be rather applied to interior enterprises.

The Southwestern Rail-road to California, projected to unite an important system at El Paso, has found embarrassment in the right of "agreement" reserved by Mexico, and in the physical obstacles interposed by the initial point proposed by the boundary commission.

The Nicaragua transit route has been impeded by the intrigues of its enemies and the dissensions of its friends.

The Tehuantepec enterprise, having encountered foreign and domestic opposition of the most formidable character, has received the sanction of its own government, and an appreciation at the hands of the American people, which will secure its successful prosecution.

There ought plainly to be no rivalry amongst the Isthmian and Continental crossings referred to—they will all be temporarily or permanently necessary. They are so distant from each other that the commercial intercourse between distant regions cannot be condemned to employ any one of them to the exclusion of the rest. The foreign and interior commerce will be sufficient to furnish employment for them all.

Instead of one arrogant monopoly, fat-

tened by exactions upon the world, there must be various ways of communication affording facilities adequate to any degree of intercourse, and a salutary competition promoting the common prosperity. To effect the construction of these principal connections with the Pacific, will require the co-operation of every influence, social, moral and political. Some of them are stupendous structures and must encounter great physical difficulties. They will require time, labor, and money. But by harmonious perseverance they can all be executed. They should be favored by the government in every legitimate manner; for their completion will assure to the United States an easy supremacy in the great contest for the control of the Pacific trade, and a perpetual union between the Atlantic and Pacific states. To the South the construction of some of these works will be of the highest political and commercial consequence. The Tehuantepec and Gila routes will turn through the southern states the precious commodities of Pacific commerce that now go around their coast. They will place them in comparative juxtaposition with the common territory, and insure a participation in the influences that govern it.

The position of the Tehuantepec enterprise having been placed by the recent action of the government beyond the pale of negotiation, and an alternative of the most serious character having been presented to the consideration of Mexico, it becomes important to review the historical progress of a measure of such importance, and to place the American public in possession of the points involved in controversy.

It is proposed to consider the following propositions:

1. The character and value of the Garay grant.

2. That Mexico has unjustly confiscated the rights of American citizens.

3. That the United States ought to enforce the specific execution of the Garay grant.

For this purpose a short recital of preliminary events will become necessary.

The government of Mexico, on the 1st of March, 1842, made a grant of the right of way across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to Don Jose de Garay. It also granted certain public lands and personal franchises to colonists of nations in amity with Mexico. This grant was by various deeds of assignment transferred to John Schneider & Co., and Manning & McKintosh, subjects of Great Britain.

It was during the year 1849 conveyed by absolute deeds to Peter A. Hargous, of New-York.

It was subsequently conveyed by Peter A. Hargous to an association, the members of which resided principally in New-Orleans. In 1851, the governments of Mexico and the United States signed a convention upon the subject of a right of way across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

This convention having been submitted, according to its terms, to the holder of the Garay grant, P. A. Hargous, received his assent and the signature of both governments in February, 1851.

In May, 1851, the Congress of Mexico declared the title of Garay void, for want of authority in the administration of Salas, which, by decree of 5th November, 1846, granted its extension.

In April, 1852, the Convention was submitted to the Congress of Mexico, and rejected.

In July, 1852, the President of the United States, in obedience to a resolution of the Senate, communicated to Congress the documents of title, and the accompanying correspondence; and on the 30th of August, the Committee of Foreign Relations reported in favor of the validity of the Garay grant.

The most authentic exposition of the Mexican argument will be found in a document entitled, "A Statement of the rights and just reasons, on the part of the Government of the United Mexican States, for not recognizing either the subsistence of the privilege granted Don Jose de Garay for the opening of a line of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific seas, across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, or the legality of the cessions which he made of said privilege to citizens of the United States of North America."

The Government of Mexico, having signed the Tehuantepec Treaty, published this Statement as an appeal addressed to the foreign diplomatic circle. This occasioned an indignant remonstrance from the American Minister, as "an act unprecedented in the annals of diplomacy." The Statement was then republished in New-York, and circulated throughout the United States.

It displays neither the dignity nor justice of a state paper; an *ex-parte* apology for a pre-determinate conclusion, it appeals to prejudice rather than reason. It assumes for Mexico absolute integrity. It imputes to those who resist her purposes systematic fraud. It avows the most abject weakness, and implores the aid of others, yet contends that those who have expended money in developing the confiscated property, deserve no mercy for their misfortunes, and no indemnity for their loss. To fulfil the universal philanthropy of its professions, Mexico offers all mankind crossing the isthmus to the highest bidder; and to mark her detestation of "speculators" and "mercenary traders," seizes without compensation the property of others, and applies its results to replenish her exhausted coffers. If we add, that the Statement professes an exclusive knowledge of facts, with a peculiar purity of purpose, it requires but the signature of Ambrose De Lamela to make it a homily every way worthy that accomplished divine.

Before replying to the positions maintained in this document, it is proper to state that the American holders of the grant have never admitted that the validity of their title depended upon the legality of any specific administration of the Government of Mexico.

They have never permitted themselves to be enticed or driven from the impregnable ground taken by Mr. Webster:

That their title having been granted by a *de facto* government, as citizens of a foreign country they were not responsible for the consistency of that government with the principles upon which it had been ostensibly founded.

In support of this position, they cited the policy of the American Government, announced in the celebrated letter of Mr. Jefferson to Gouverneur Morris, quoted Mr. Buchanan's instructions to Mr. Trist, to treat even with "a dictator who had subverted the constitution of 1824, and acquired supreme power, whose ratification

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of the treaty, without the previous approbation of the general Congress, would be sufficient."

They argued that they were purchasers without notice of the title alleged to be defective, and that the example of their government was sufficient for their protection.

The reply to the arguments of the Mexican Government is not therefore admitted to be material to the validity of American title, but is intended to show that the confiscation of the property, by the Mexican Government, is unjustifiable upon any grounds whatsoever.

It will, we think, result from the consideration of the whole controversy:

1. That the grant to Garay is valid and binding upon Mexico.

2. That it has been legally acquired by American citizens.

3. That the confiscation of the grant by Mexico was mercenary and unjust.

4. That private right, and the interest of the American people, require the specific enforcement of the grant.

The first proposition advanced by the Mexican argument is—

That the charter of 1st of March, 1842, was granted by the provisional government, under the Bases of Tacubaya, subject to the right of Congress to revise it.

To maintain this proposition, the argument represents that the administration of the Mexican Government, which intervened between the grant of the charter and its repeal, in May, 1851, was continuous and legal.

To our reading, no period of Mexican history is more marked with misrule and anarchy. There was scarcely a stable—never, according to republican doctrine, a constitutional government.

A civil war broke out in the year 1841. Valencia, Minon, Bassadre, Paredes, Lombardini, headed the insurgents. General Valenoia, with 1200 men, and nearly all the heavy artillery, bombs, and munitions of war, held the castle of Mexico.

President Bustamante defended the palace with a body of troops, whilst Arista and other partisan officers sustained the Government in the provinces.

Paredes marched on Mexico from Guadalajara, and Santa Anna advanced from Vera Cruz as a mediator between the belligerents.

The American Minister, Mr. Ellis, represents, in his dispatches, that these factionaries fought in the streets of Mexico,

until the destruction of life and property compelled the citizens to interpose. This was effected by the convention of Estanzuela, and soon after the Bases of Tacubaya was adopted by the officers.

The truce between the combatants thus terminated in a treaty.

On the 7th October, 1841, General Santa Anna appointed a representative council, composed of two members from each department.

On the 10th October, 1841, he took the oath of office under the Bases of Tacubaya.

During the year 1842, an extraordinary Congress assembled. "In December, 1842," says the historian, "after the assembly had made two efforts to form a constitution, suitable to the country and to the cabinet, President Santa Anna, in spite of his professed submission to the national will, suddenly and unauthorizedly dissolved Congress.

"The event, (the dispersion of Congress,) says the American minister, was celebrated by a grand military procession through the streets of Mexico. It marched by my door, and I cannot express my feelings when I saw the ignorant and debased soldiery, headed by their officers, who, as to the true principles of a government calculated to secure the liberties of the people, were little better informed. *Thus celebrating the triumph of brute force over the will of the people fairly expressed.*"*

Santa Anna was then "clothed with a power without limit, and was sustained by a powerful army."† A dispute subsequently arose about the extent of his powers.

The 6th article of the Bases directed the Provisional President to answer for his acts before the first constitutional Congress. Santa Anna subsequently published in a decree his version of his own authority: he declared that his responsibility was merely "one of opinion"—that "the contracts made by the Provisional Government were inviolable, and, in short, could be only derogated in the terms and requisites established in the Organic Bases."

But the American minister says: "A provisional government was organized by the chiefs of the army, assembled at Tacubaya, a village three miles from Mexico."

By the 7th article of the Provisional

* Hon. W. Thompson.

† Report of Minister of State, Lafragua.

Government, (as he understood it.) Santa Anna was invested in effect with absolute power. This provisional government was to last until a new constitution was formed, and the government should be organized under it.

The American minister then regarded Santa Anna as a dictator in possession of supreme power. But, according to another historian,* as soon as the constitutional Congress had been dispersed, "nothing then remained save to allow the Dictator himself to frame the organic law, and for this purpose he appointed a junta of notables, who proclaimed on the 13th June, 1843, an instrument which never took the name of a constitution, but bore the monarchical title of 'Bases of the Political Organization of the Mexican Republic.'"

Thus terminated the Bases of Tacubaya—a truce between military aspirants. Owing its authority to the "army of operations" of Santa Anna, it was naturally violated and perverted. Santa Anna held the charter of his own powers, and designated the extent of his own authority.

The substitution, then, of a "bases of organization," prepared by a junta appointed by Santa Anna, was the consummation of a revolution.

The Bases of Tacubaya, except so far as Santa Anna chose to derive supreme authority from it, was thus abrogated.

At the close of the year 1844, a new revolution overturned the government of Santa Anna, and on the 14th January, 1845, he finally fell.

This Congress of 1845 then contradicted Santa Anna's version of his own powers, and declared that all his acts were subject to their revision. The dictator had been supreme. He had fallen from power, and his enemies reversed his decisions. Here was anarchy, usurpation and revolt, in formal succession. The "Statement" subsequently says, that a decree of the 28th December, 1843, extending for one year the charter of Garay, required the confirmation of Congress, and adds—"so that if the Congress or government, in the exercise of their powers, had disapproved it, Garay would have lost all his rights, as would have been also equally the case if the Congress had disapproved the concession (the charter) itself."

If the charter of Garay was subject to the revision of the first constitutional Congress that assembled *after* the Bases of Tacubaya, then the communication of all

the acts of the Provisional Government by President Herrera must have included it; and if the "first constitutional Congress" did not rescind the charter, no other Congress can.

But the Bases Organicas was the law of the land from the date of its adoption, June, 1843. It contained the following provision:

"No retrospective law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, shall be passed."

The charter to Garay was a contract of the most solemn character between the government and grantee.

Not only was Mexico prohibited from passing any retrospective law, impairing her obligations by the terms of her own written constitution, but according to the law of nations, "he who has made a promise to any one has conferred on him a right to require the thing promised—consequently, not to keep a perfect promise is to violate the rights of another, and is as manifest an injustice as to despoil a man of his property." Yet to show that the right of retrospection, claimed by the Congress of 1845, could not have enured to the Congress of 1851, we pursue our review of the history of that period.

"On the 30th of December, 1845, President Herrera, who anxiously desired to avoid bloodshed, resigned the executive chair to Paredes. Paredes overthrew the government, and acquired supreme power."

Here again the government changed its character by revolution. Here was another chasm between the Bases of Tacubaya and the Congress of 1851.

During the government of Paredes, the period within which Garay was required to prosecute the construction of the way of communication expired.

He applied to Congress for an extension of his term. The Chamber of Deputies passed a bill, which was pending upon the favorable report of a committee in the senate, when another revolution drove Paredes from power, dispersed the Congress, and established Salas the supreme dictator of the republic.

Salas having convened Congress by proclamation, the constitution of 1824 was, with certain amendments, adopted. He then resigned.

The Congress of 1851, owing its authority to the amended constitution of 1824, claims, under the Bases of Tacubaya, a

* Mayer.

* Mayer.

right to repeal the charter of Garay, granted nearly ten years before.

The disgraceful scenes of usurpation and anarchy which continued for ten years, would have filled the hearts of most patriots with despair for the destinies of their country. But the Mexican statesman, to whose argument we have replied, seems to consider them as but temporary interruptions of what he is pleased to designate "constitutional order."

Disguised under terms of historical courtesy, the sanguinary revolution that threatened the capital with destruction, was a political difficulty adjusted by a convention amongst the disputants.

The decree of Santa Anna, defining his own powers, was illegal; but the Congress, which owed its authority to his revolutionary overthrow, restored the "constitutional order" by contradicting his definition.

The interlude of civil war, the flight, capture and expulsion of successive dictators, the exactions and oppressions of the government, the social disorganization, with its daily robberies and murders, all consequent upon ten years of revolution, are all omitted by this polite historian.

The "suspension of the constitutional rule," is the term by which he expresses the destruction of one form of government and the adoption of another.

"An interruption, occasioned by political circumstances," is the periphrasis which implies the irruption of Paredes, and the violent dispersion of the national legislature.

The "general act of the army" makes a very stable government, "implicitly confirmed" by a Congress permitted to assemble nearly a year afterwards.

A "fresh political emergency" characterizes a total change in the administration of the government.

How tenderly the historian walks over the volcanic ashes of a political eruption! To have derived a knowledge of Mexican history from no other source, the reader would infer that the period to which reference has been made was one of unbroken and prosperous tranquillity, unless when some ambitious insurgent interrupted for a moment the calm current of "constitutional order," which was immediately restored by the energy of the government, or the contrition of the offender.

We will add, however, a summary of the political events which are dispatched with such composure.

1. The Bases of Tacubaya, September, 1841.
 2. The meeting of the extraordinary Congress convened to report a constitution under the Bases of Tacubaya, June, 1842.
 3. The dispersion of the extraordinary Congress, by Santa Anna, December, 1842.
 4. The appointment by Santa Anna of a Junta of Notables.
 5. The proclamation of the Bases Organicas reported by them, June 13, 1843.
 6. The deposition and capture of the President by Congress, January, 1845.
 7. The appointment of Herrera President.
 8. The forcible seizure of the government by Paredes, July, 1846.
 9. The revolution of the citadel, and the forcible occupation of the government by Salas, August, 1846.
 10. The proclamation by Salas of the constitution of 1824, with a reservation of paramount authority to the plan of the citadel, 22d August, 1846.
 11. The adoption of the amended constitution of 1824, December, 1846.
 12. The voluntary abdication of Salas.
- This is a catalogue of radical changes within seven years which would last an ordinary people more than a century; and if the assertion of the Mexican argument be correct, that whilst the form of government is violently overthrown its obligations subsist, no human ingenuity could explain the complicated allegiance due to so many contradictory and conflicting forms of rule.
- All this sophistry, however, has been employed to exonerate Mexico from compliance with one covenant. It might, with the same justice, be employed to cancel any debt, or repeal any engagement incurred within the period referred to. Revolutions would thus be made a source of profit, since a government might repudiate all bad contracts, and insist upon all good ones. But how are those who suffer from the acts of an illegal government to obtain redress?
- From the foregoing recital of historical events, we think the first proposition of the Mexican argument has been refuted, and that it has been made evident.
1. That the Bases of Tacubaya was

violated by the usurpation of Santa Anna, and superseded by the "Bases Organicas," which constituted for some years the rule of government.

2. That the Congress of 1845 had no right to revise the acts of the government of Santa Anna, because it was not the "first constitutional Congress" after the Bases of Tacubaya, and because it derived its authority not from legal succession, but from successful revolution.

3. That, if the Congress of 1845 had a right of revision, it was exercised in the communication by President Herrera, of all the acts of the government of Santa Anna.

4. That four violent and radical subversions of the existing forms of government having intervened between the Bases of Tacubaya and the Congress of 1851, that Congress could not have inherited from the Bases any right of revision, or any authority whatsoever.

Having attempted to establish the right of Congress to repeal the acts of a preceding administration, the "Statement" maintains the legality of the resolution of Congress, adopted 2d May, 1851, which reads as follows:

"The decree of the 5th November, 1846, is declared null and insubsistent, as the powers with which the provisional government of that period were invested were insufficient to dictate it."

The decree of the 5th November, 1846, is that granted by Salas during his dictatorship, extending the term within which Garay might continue the prosecution of his enterprise.

Passing by for the present the consideration of the obvious illegality of this resolution which confiscates private property without an adjudication, and repeals a contract made in solemn form by the government, we proceed to consider the allegation: that the President Salas had no authority to grant an extension of the charter of Garay.

The character of the powers of Salas will be inferred from the preceding narrative. He came in by the act of the army, and forced his predecessor, Paredes, to surrender the authority which he had usurped. The proclamation by the army of the plan of the citadel announced the anarchy that had reigned since the year 1835. It proposed the adoption of a constitution, acceptable to the whole people. For this purpose, it directed the call of

a Congress, charged with the duty of reporting such a constitution. During the interval which elapsed, "José Mariano de Salas, General of Brigade, and in command of the Liberating Army of the republic," exercised the supreme executive power.*

The "Statement," in attempting to limit the powers of Salas, quotes from the plan of the citadel to prove that he was only authorized to adopt "such measures as may be deemed urgent and necessary, in order to sustain the honor of the national flag."

The plan of the citadel does not define the powers of the president, nor did it provide for his appointment. The 3d article provides that, "until the sovereign Congress shall have met and prescribed all that shall be convenient for the war, it shall be the especial [precisa] duty of the executive to dictate such measures as shall be urgent and necessary to sustain, with honor, the national flag, and to comply with this sacred duty without the loss of a single moment."

The 5th article made it the duty of the executive to summon the sovereign Congress, and to take care that the elections shall be conducted with the greatest freedom possible.

There is no other limitation upon or reference to the powers of the executive, contained in the six articles of the plan proclaimed from the citadel for the "true regeneration of the republic."

It is plain that the two articles quoted are only directory. It is one of the duties required of the executive to prosecute the war. But it is not the only duty, for he is in the next article required to summon the Congress, and superintend the elections.

In this avowed interregnum of any lawful authority, we must look to contemporaneous exposition for the true character of the authority of Salas.

The plan of the citadel proclaimed no constitution. Its first article is as follows:

"In place of the Congress which at present exists, there shall assemble another, composed of representatives, elected by the people, according to the electoral laws which provided for the election of the Congress of 1824. This shall be empowered to provide a constitution

* Caption of his decrees.

for the nation, adopting such form of government as shall appear to conform to the national will. It shall also take cognizance of all that relates to the war of the United States, to the question of Texas, and to the frontier departments. It shall exclude a monarchical government, which the nation evidently detests."

On the 22d August, 1846, Salas, "exercising supreme executive power," published a proclamation, containing the following provisions:

"1. Until the new constitution shall have been adopted, the constitution of 1824 shall govern in every thing which does not conflict with the plan proclaimed in the citadel, on the 4th of the present month, and the anomalous position of the republic will permit.

"2. The continuance of the assemblies of the departments, and of the acting counsel of government not being compatible with the fundamental code referred to, the exercise of their functions will terminate from this period."

The same decree authorizes the governors of the states to continue the exercise of their office, and directs the governors of the territorial departments who are without a constitution, to act in the exercise of their duties, in conformity to that of the nearest state. The decree also adds, "that as the functionaries to whom reference has been made, have no legal authority, but owe their existence only to the political movement which is intended to regenerate the nation, and consequently that every interest must co-operate for the same purpose, they will be appointed or replaced by the general-in-chief, charged with the general executive power."

General Salas publishes other decrees, in which he defines certain powers of the Congress about to assemble, and prescribes the method in which their election and assemblage shall take place.

It is very plain, from an examination of the plan of the citadel, that the hostility of the army was directed against the acting Congress. The Congress summoned for the purpose of preparing a constitution, was limited to that duty, with certain others, defined in its appointment.

Indeed, the minister of relations, in his report of 1846, uses the following language:

"Conformably to the plan of the cita-

del, the Congress could exercise no other powers than those which were necessary to prepare a constitution, and provide for the prosecution of the war."

It would seem, then, that the powers of Salas were unlimited, and those of Congress restricted.

We have seen Salas decree a constitution for the government of the country. He limited this constitution in every particular in which it should conflict with the plan of the citadel. He organized state governments, and published decrees of a general character. All this was done during the interregnum occasioned by the overthrow of one form of administration, and the preparation of another, in accordance with the popular will. During the interval between the 4th August, 1846, and the 6th December, 1846, the power of Salas prescribed a special and organic rule of government. Were the proclamations which we have cited measures of military defence? They were acts of extraordinary and supreme power.

The courtly apologist who compiled the Statement, says, in regard to these events, "that the political change was only in determining the constitution that ought to rule."

But this change is said by a Mexican historian to have been "the only revolution since 1835. The rest were revolts."

But who made this change? Who conducted and completed this revolution? Salas decreed the constitution of 1824 as a law *ad interim*, and gave effect to the will of the people by a voluntary and patriotic abdication. During the interregnum he was a dictator.

It cannot be said that his power was merely to provide for the military defence of Mexico. He passed many decrees, none of which were annulled, except that of Garay. But with the undisputed power to revive a dead constitution, and decree a new form of government, it certainly is not respectful to the intellect to assert that his powers were limited. If they were, then his decrees organizing the government must be void, and all the subsequent acts of the government must be tainted with illegality.

A military ruler is amenable to none, except his armed followers. The limit of his power is his own will, or their obedience. It is idle to speak of the restraints of a promise, or the weight of a precedent.

But we continue the proofs, that the powers of Salas were dictatorial and unlimited.

"General Salas," says a Mexican author, "was a veritable dictator. It was the result of his pronunciamiento to reverse the system of government, the proclamations of the government, the official documents, and, indeed, everything which has been done and executed, without the least contradiction, on account of its legitimacy."

In this proclamation of the 6th August, 1846, General Salas says: "The termination of all original obligations is indispensable, because all are either tainted with illegality, or offensive to a part of the nation. But the common law will continue in force, and those which the provisional government propose to publish will fill, in a certain measure, the demand which circumstances may occasion."

In another proclamation of the 16th August, 1846, General Salas declares: "That he does not deem it necessary that Congress, when it assembles, shall employ itself in organizing the country, and negotiating in regard to the western frontier. *Since there remains to him (Salas) the powers necessary to organize every branch of administration, he adds, that he will be compelled, whilst organizing the Republic, to use for everything else discretionary power.*"

But the minister of relations reports to the Congress, convened under the decree of Salas, that Salas had "exercised a true and ample dictatorship, which should continue until the publication of the new constitution; and that, when the fundamental law should be published, General Salas would conform to it as well as circumstances would permit."

The minister then reports all the decrees made by Salas, and terminates with these words:

"A federalist in good faith, I have made every effort to observe the constitution whenever circumstances would permit, and I have hastened, as soon as it depended on me, the meeting of the sovereign Congress, to the end that, the dictatorial period having terminated, the nation might at once realize those hopes which are born of every revolution, but which are always extinguished by the government."

No one, then, contested the absolute authority of Salas. His decrees were numerous, and upon various subjects, and

the Congress of Mexico repealed a law of the State of Sonora, because it was in conflict with one of them.

But it so happens that we may appeal to contemporaneous testimony of the purposes of the government of Salas in granting an extension of the grant of Garay.

On the 14th, 15th and 16th December, 1846, the Minister of Relations—Lafragua—read before Congress a report of the acts of the government during the dictatorship of Salas.

This report affords a temperate narrative of the political history of Mexico, from the Bases of Tacubaya, in 1841, to the abdication of Salas. It is well worth the attentive perusal of the historian or student.

It has been already cited, to show that the government of Salas was authorized to exercise such power as the emergency might require. We shall therefore refer to so much of it as will show that the motives of Salas, in decreeing the renewal of the Garay grant, were connected with the promotion of a great and general measure of policy, the object of which was the safety and independence of the Republic of Mexico.

In the report of the "Relations with the Republics of South America and the Empire of Brazil," occurs the following explanation of the policy pursued by the administration of Salas:

"The nations of South America, the descendants of one and the same race with ourselves, professing the same faith, and speaking the same language, born, like ourselves, to sustain the same principles, and impressed with the same misfortunes, nothing can be more important to them and to us than to bind closer, and extend the relations which those common bonds and mutual interests have established.

"The prosperity, the existence of the Spanish and American republics depend upon their union. That will be the surest guarantee of their prosperity, and the bulwark of their freedom—the most harmonious means of quieting their internal conflicts, and the most irresistible power for sustaining their rights against foreigners.

"To this high purpose the organization of a general American alliance will contribute effectually. It is now more than ever necessary, because of the manifest tendencies of the northern races, as well in Europe as in America, to overrun that

of the Middle region, these tendencies augmented, upon the continent, by the natural course of events, and the rapid and immense immigration from Europe—by the attractions of a fertile soil, a benign climate, the riches and sparse population of the new world—can be alone resisted by an alliance, which, from the identity of origin and interests, may be formed between the beforementioned republics, and will establish this American league as a centre of union, and a point of defence.

I regret that I cannot add anything more to the important memorial referred to, (of 1844,) except to recommend it earnestly to Congress; for this alliance will not only serve to protect us in the present crisis, but by giving to America the political importance to which she is entitled, enable her to contend with the impoverished nations of Europe; and perhaps, by the proposed policy, to become the centre of civilization.

"In such a result, what position will be due to Mexico, it is unnecessary to state, nor will I indicate it, since nature herself has pointed it out.

"One of the considerations which decided the government to grant the decree of November, 1846, was, that the opening the canal of Tehuantepec would promote a commerce with some of the aforesaid republics, by rendering our relations with them more intimate and active. Persuaded of the importance of every thing connected with this policy, it is left to the wisdom of this august body to provide the means essential to form a more intimate connection with the Southern republics, and which the existing government had not been able to effect, as well for the few days of existence which were left it, as because it was obviously obliged to consecrate its energies exclusively to the regulation of our interior affairs, and to sustain the unjust and unprovoked war of the North, which has occupied us to the exclusion of other things."

Independently of the merits of Garay's application for an extension of the term within which he was required to commence the construction of his work, the government of Salas was actuated by a wish to provide for the defence of the Republic, by the encouragement of immigration.

It is well known, that after the declaration of Mexican Independence, it became the policy of the government to encourage the immigration of a hardy and

warlike race of colonists, who should become the defenders of their adopted country against foreign aggressions, and against the savage enemies upon the northern frontier.

In pursuance of this policy, Texas was opened to immigrants, and the most liberal donations of land made to empresarios and actual settlers.

The government of Salas seems to have adopted the same policy, confining, however, the invitation, as far as possible, to Europeans.

After having descanted upon the extent and fertility of the Republic, the minister asks,—Of what value is all this without population? He then affirms that the development and defence of the Republic alike demand the introduction of foreign immigrants.

A plan had been proposed to the government to encourage desertion from the army of the United States, because it "was composed, in great part, of foreigners who would enter with alacrity that service which should present the greatest inducements."

"This would weaken the invading army, and people the invaded country with a race generally devoted to industrial pursuits."

Upon this theory a decree was published, offering to deserters rights of citizenship and employment in the army or navy of Mexico.

In pursuance of this attractive policy, the government ordered land to be allotted to "Rollan, a deserter from the American army."

In respect to the decree of the 5th November, 1846, regulating the colonization of the lands conceded to the grantee of the way of communication across Tehuantepec, the minister goes on to say:

"The government in publishing this decree, as in regard to that respecting the liberty of the press, carried out the purposes of the Congress of 1845."

"The decree of Salas, in relation to Tehuantepec, not only confirmed those of the 1st March, 1842, the 9th February and 6th October, 1843, but by postponing for two years the term fixed for the commencement of its construction, promoted the completion of the enterprise, which had been retarded by the consequences of our revolution."

The minister then explains in detail the motives of the several provisions of the decree in relation to the colonists. The exemption from any obligation to

bear arms for twenty years, was intended to counteract the apprehension amongst Europeans that immigrants would be involved in the revolutions of the Republic, which were understood to be perennial.

For a similar reason colonists were exempted from paying Federal taxes during the same period upon implements of agriculture or of the arts.

The same exemption was granted upon the material necessary to construct and preserve the way of communication, and for the term of six years articles of subsistence, clothing and provisions, were admitted duty free.

All these privileges were granted to attract immigration.

The grantee was prohibited from introducing the subjects of any nation at war with Mexico; and it was enacted as an express condition, that colonists should renounce their citizenship, and subject themselves to the laws upon the subject of colonization. "The object of this condition was to close the door against reclamations, and because that would constitute the best policy for augmenting the permanent population of the Republic."

The decree provides further, that the enterprise shall submit, for the approval of the government, the contracts (of colonization) which it shall make.

Provision is also made in regard to the "streams necessary for the enterprise, and indemnity is decreed to the proprietors of the waters taken for that purpose."

"The government believes that it has effected a positive good by completing the arrangement of this important business, which will bring so much honor upon the Republic, and whose completion will secure such immense advantages to our country and to the world."

The argument of the minister is throughout worthy of a statesman. He has boldly affirmed that the true policy of the Republic is to invite foreign defenders. He has contended that the most powerful obstacles to be anticipated are religious intolerance and the insecurity of private rights.

He expects the new constitution to obviate these objections.

He expects the Tehuantepec proprietors to construct a canal which will facilitate a defensive alliance with the South American states. He thinks that the same liberal system of exemption and protection provided for in the general law of colonization will create military

colonies, to restrain the "usurpations" of the United States of the North, and the "irruptions" of the savages.

This system of defence perfected, and the war with the United States "decorously" terminated, the minister considers that the foundation of a power will have been laid that will establish the independence of his country.

There was, however, an obvious dilemma in the scheme of colonization. The minister had proved that the Republic was not safe without additional population. There was a natural fear that the introduction of foreigners might be followed by the same results as in the settlement of Texas.

The latter consequence was to be prevented by the scrupulous exclusion of slavery, and of all persons whose government was at war with Mexico.

With the object of competing for that immigration to which, it was alleged, the United States of the North owed so much of their prosperity, the price of public land in Mexico was fixed at just half the minimum price charged by them.

It is very plain, from the testimony furnished by the document referred to, that the renewal of the grant to Garay was with no purpose of favoritism. It was done because of the meritorious efforts of the grantee; because of the "revolutionary interruptions" to this work; because it would "place in the hands of Mexico the commercial key of two continents." The grant of a way of communication would constitute the source of commercial prosperity, and the means of promoting a great American league for the defence of its members against foreign aggression.

The provisions regarding the colonists, to be introduced by the grantee, were common to other colonists immigrating into other parts of the Republic.

It was, therefore, part of a great system, designed by the government of Salas, to defend the country, and to "sustain with honor the national flag."

We are satisfied, that it will appear from the document referred to, and also from the report of the Commissioners of Colonization, that the true motives of the extension of Garay's grant have been herein set forth.* Nor was there any intention of entrapping the colonists into a renunciation of their citizenship that

* Report of Committee on Colonization.

they might be subjected to peculiar disqualification, but it was intended to sever the imaginary tie that bound them to their native country and cause them to become *permanent* citizens, pledged to maintain the honor and defend the integrity of Mexico.

Such was the policy of the government then; and if it has changed in regard to the present proprietors of the Garay grant, it is because they are citizens of the United States, and apprehensions may be entertained that their acquisition of the rights accorded to others may be inconsistent with the interests of Mexico.

The foregoing views have been based upon the report and accompanying documents of an officer of the Mexican government, of unusual ability and of undoubted patriotism.

The report is a witness at once impartial and conclusive. It was written with no anticipation of the present controversy—with no eye to the rights of Garay. In explanation of a system of policy, he has incidentally told the motives which actuated the government of Salas in decreeing the identical bill of extension passed by the Chamber of Deputies. This explanation totally disproves the insinuation that the decree was the result of favoritism, or that it was the purpose of the government to resume the grant or entrap the proprietors into such a renunciation of their rights as would only render necessary a decree of confiscation to make them the unprotected victims of avarice or jealousy.

Mexico, however, has made a distinct admission that Salas was competent to decree an extension of the grant to Garay.

The government sanctioned the transfer of certain rights derived from the grant by its assent to the contract, July, 1847. It acknowledged the validity of some transfer of rights derived from the same grant by the declaration of its commissioners, September, 1847.

The authority of Salas was then adequate to authorize a valid transfer of rights derived under his decree of extension. But all the rights claimed and conceded by Garay resulted from the same instrument. How, then, could the transfer of one right be void for want of authority in the grantor, whilst another derived from the same deed is admitted to be valid?

We will only add, that during 1847, the constitution of 1824, with certain

amendments, was adopted, and constitutes (at the last advices) the public law of Mexico.

In continuing our review of the Statement, we shall adopt the condensed exposition of its contents, prepared by Mr. Benton. It will save quotation, and present the allegations in a form to which Mexico can have no objection.

1. That the Garay grant is defunct upon its own limitations, and so declared by the Mexican Congress.

The grant was renewed on the 5th November, 1846, for two years, and the Statement admits that "Garay endeavored to prove that he had been occupied on the work, with few interruptions, until the 26th October, 1848; in proof of which, he inclosed a note from the Prefect of Acayucan, dated 25th November, 1848, to the Governor of Vera Cruz, in which he states that the engineer, D. Cayetano Moro, had returned to undertake the work."

Then follows the assertion, that the works had been prosecuted negligently, and not in good faith; consequently the condition of prosecution had not been complied with.

Under a constitutional government, a question affecting the rights of a private individual, ought, upon an allegation of forfeiture, to have been submitted to some impartial arbitrament, a *quo warranto* should have been issued, the parties should have been cited before a judicial tribunal, and the truth of the allegation should have been inquired into with all the solemnity of legal form. Here, however, the government repeals its contracts, stigmatizes the grantee as unworthy of credence, and impresses her own version upon the controversy between them.

But the charter was not forfeited, for certain conclusive reasons.

A public war was waged by the act of Mexico, from April, 1845, to June, 1848.

During the war, Mexico was invaded by a foreign power, which obtained possession of her capital, and blockaded her coast. In accordance with the terms of a treaty, under which Mexico ceded away nearly half her actual territory, the invading army was withdrawn, and peace was declared.

During this war the efficient prosecution of a work of internal improvement within the invaded country was impossible. Now it is a maxim of common law, that where a condition is rendered

impossible of fulfilment, by the act of a grantor, the failure of the grantee to perform the condition cannot be alleged as a forfeiture of the grant.

If, then, the period of interruption be deducted from the term of the grant, it will be plain that there was no forfeiture for failure to prosecute the work within the time specified by the charter and the several acts of extension.

The grantee moreover proved the continuous prosecution of the work of construction by the testimony referred to.

2. That the grant is not transferrable in what relates to the inter-oceanic communications, but only in the colonization part, and that when the transfer is made to foreigners only, on the condition of renouncing their nationality.

The reply to the first branch of the proposition is found in the language of the charter. It grants "to Don Jose de Garay the exclusive power of opening and constructing, in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, with the obligations, rights and advantages contained in the pre-inserted decree, dated 1st instant, conceding to him in full right of property and dominion, all the waste lands on the isthmus within ten leagues of the proposed communication."

"That in the name of the Supreme Government, and under the most solemn protests, he (the President) declares and promises that all and every one of the concessions mentioned in the pre-inserted decree shall be honorably fulfilled, now and at all times, pledging the honor and public faith of the nation to maintain the proprietor, Don Jose de Garay, as well as any private individual or company, succeeding or representing him, either NATIVES or FOREIGNERS, in the undisturbed enjoyment of all the concessions granted. Holding the national administration responsible for any act of its own or its agents, which, from want of proper fulfilment of the covenant, might enforce the interest of the proprietors, all of course subject to the exact tenor of the inserted decree."

From this, it is plain that Garay was empowered to transfer "to any private individual or company," either natives or foreigners, all the concessions granted; so that his successors or representatives had a right to demand of the Mexican government the execution of that solemn covenant which pledged the honor and public faith of the nation to maintain them in possession.

This covenant and guarantee has never been modified. The right of way is still transferrable without limitation. This will be seen from an inspection of the acts of title.

The charter of the 1st March, 1842, recognized three distinct classes of grantees:

To Garay, and his representatives and assigns:

The exclusive right of constructing and making a way of communication across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

A grant in fee simple of all the unoccupied lands within ten leagues of the way of communication.

An exemption from all duties upon materials and supplies employed in constructing a way of communication.

To the citizens of all nations in amity with Mexico:

1. The passage across the isthmus having been opened, it is hereby declared neutral and common to all nations at peace with Mexico.

2. Under no excuse whatsoever will the "government lay any tax or impost upon any of the articles passing through the isthmus during the period in which the proprietors shall have the exclusive enjoyment of its proceeds."

And in no case shall they (custom-house officers) "interfere in the collection of transport dues, nor in the collection of freights, lighterage, tonnage, or any other class of dues, for none shall be payable by vessels loading or unloading for the transport of effects, so long as the communication shall belong to the negotiation."

The government also engages not to impose any contributions or taxes upon travelers or effects in transit, until the expiration of the aforesaid term of fifty years.

ART. 6. All foreigners are permitted to acquire real property, and to exercise any trade or calling, not even excepting that of mining, within the distance of fifty leagues on either side of the line of transit. That territory shall be the country of all who may come to establish themselves, subject, however, to the laws of the Republic.

The grant of Garay then contains:

1. An exclusive right of transit.
2. A grant of vacant lands in fee-simple.

This grant of lands has been loosely

characterized as a "privilege of colonization." It was a donation made to promote the construction of the way of communication, and this is, no doubt, an implied condition of the fee simple, but it is not expressed in the charter.

But there is no condition that Garay or his successors should colonize the lands. The clauses which relate to that subject confer certain privileges upon the citizens of foreign states coming to reside upon the granted lands, as an inducement to immigration.

But the rights of the colonists under the grant underwent a farther modification. We have elsewhere stated that the Chamber of Deputies had passed a bill which was pending, upon a favorable report from the senate committee, when the revolution dispersed the Congress, and that Salas enacted the identical bill by his decree of the 5th of Nov., 1846.

This bill or decree was necessary to renew and extend the original charter. It therefore confirms the acts of title, as follows:

1. The decrees of 1st March, 1842; 9th February, 1843; and 6th October, 1843. It extends the term within which the work may be commenced, for two years, from 5th November, 1846.

It provides that the rates of light dues, pilotage, and the transmission of letters, shall be fixed by a special law.

It provides that for all private title within the granted limit of ten leagues, the proprietor of the grant shall receive an equivalent in waste lands lying elsewhere in the Isthmus.

It exempts materials for construction of the way of communication from any duty.

But it contains the following articles in regard to colonists:

ART. 7. All colonists making settlement under the enterprise to carry out the project, shall be exempt from military service for the term of twenty years, excepting only in case of foreign invasion of the isthmus.

ART. 8. They shall be similarly exempt for the same period, from all contributions not in the nature of municipal taxes.

ART. 9. All implements intended for agricultural purposes, and instruments for the arts, shall be exempt from all duty for a similar term.

ART. 10. All articles of subsistence, clothing, furniture, and other things useful for the construction and embellish-

ment of houses, shall be exempt from all duties for the term of six years, to be computed from the establishment of the colony; but in case such articles should be intended for consumption in the interior, they shall be subjected to the general existing laws of the republic.

ART. 12. No colonists shall be allowed to settle who are at the time citizens of a state at war with the republic.

ART. 13. It shall be an express condition in all contracts with colonists, that they shall renounce the privileges of their original domicile so long as they reside in the country, subjecting themselves to all the existing colonial regulations which are not in conflict with the present law.

ART. 14. The enterprise shall submit, for the approval of government, all contracts which it shall make for the introduction of families and laborers; and it shall keep a public and authentic register of all its transactions in respect to all matters of colonization.

These restrictions upon the colonists were proper. If they came to reside in a country they should abide by its laws, and submit to its jurisdiction.

But the proprietors are referred to in the contract of July, 1847, with Manning and McKintosh, in connection with the denationalization of the colonists. The President says: "In this contract no mention is made of the renunciation of nationality as required by the 13th article of the law of the 5th November, 1846. This renunciation, according to that law, should be made by the colonists in the most express and distinct manner, so that whatever might occur, on no account whatever, or under whatever pretext, could the colonists or proprietors demand foreign protection, or any other rights than those allowed by the law of the country to which they are subject, both in person and property."

Now the only obligation imposed upon the colonists or proprietors, grew out of the 13th article of the decree of 5th Nov., 1846, which says:

"It shall be an express condition in all contracts with colonists, that they shall renounce the privileges of their original domicile, so long as they reside in the country, subjecting themselves to all the existing colonial regulations which are not in conflict with the present law."

If, therefore, by virtue of this article, the proprietors have bound themselves to submit to colonial regulations, the article

expressly makes the decree to which it belongs, paramount to these colonial regulations; so that no law in conflict with the provisions of the charter of Garay, or its renewal by the decree of Salas of 5th November, 1846, could operate upon their rights. We are subsequently told, in the Statement, that, "although the Mexican government had no doubt that Manning and McKintosh would denationalize themselves by accepting the transfer, still it demanded, and the contractors consented, that it should be so expressed in their contract."

We may observe that this contains a shameless avowal of an intention to entrap foreign proprietors into a renunciation of their rights of protection, and to consign them to the tender mercies of the "common law" of Mexico.

But the Statement assumes that under their contract the following consequences result:

1st. The colonists renounced their right of appeal to their own government whilst in Mexico.

2d. That the proprietor of the grant made an unconditional surrender of the same right.

According to the article quoted:

"It shall be an express condition in all contracts with the colonists, that they shall renounce the privileges of their original domicile so long as they reside in the country."

If, then, it be intended to place the proprietor on the same ground with the colonists, his renunciation will only continue "so long as he resides in the country," which, it is presumed, will constitute a very limited liability.

The contract meant that the renunciation of nationality by the colonists was during residence, and the proprietors were to interpose no foreign privilege to prevent the full responsibility of the former to the laws of Mexico whilst domiciled within its limits.

The Statement adds an extract from the 5th and 6th clauses of the law of 11th March, 1842, which says, that "foreigners acquiring property (in Mexico) are with respect to it subject to the existing laws in force in the Republic, as concerns transfer enjoyment of it, payment of imposts without alleging any rights as foreigners; consequently all questions that may arise shall be decided by the common law of the country, excluding all intervention whatever."

In the first place, as this contains provisions which are "in conflict with the decree of the 5th November, 1846," it has no application to those who claim under that decree. In the second place, no such legislation could limit the right of American citizens holding property in Mexico; since, subsequent to the date of that law, American citizens for an alleged destruction of property acquired in Mexico by the Mexican authorities have appealed to the government of the United States for redress and obtained it. In the fourth place, such a limitation of American rights would have been repealed by the operation of the XVIIth article of the treaty now existing between the United States and Mexico. In the fifth place, as the Statement expressly affirms, that the right of way was not conceded in the contract approved by the government, of course the proprietor could not have renounced his right of domestic protection in regard to that privilege.

But we have wasted too much space in refuting the statement whilst we have held Mexican admission: *that the acceptance of the transfer made by Garay to Manning and McKintosh did not denationalize the purchasers and proprietors.*

The Government of Mexico approved this transfer on the 9th July, 1847, with the conditions quoted.

On the 7th September, 1847, the Government of Mexico, in its communication to Mr. Trist, says:

"We have orally explained to your Excellency, that some years since the Government of the Republic granted to a private contractor a privilege with reference to this object, which was soon after transferred with the sanction of the same government to ENGLISH SUBJECTS, of whose rights Mexico cannot dispose."

Now, if by accepting the contract with the indorsement of the government, Manning and McKintosh, the proprietors, had denationalized themselves, pray how were they at a subsequent date "English subjects?" and if they submitted themselves in their persons and property to the laws and government of Mexico, why could she not then have "disposed of their rights" as she has since confiscated and sold the same rights in the hands of their successors?

We hope to hear nothing more of the quibble in future, that the proprietors of the Garay grant residing in the United

States have, by purchasing stock in an isthmus crossing, forfeited all the rights of American citizens, and subjected themselves to the civil and religious jurisdiction of a foreign government.

If the doctrine contended for by the "Statement" be correct, they may expect an immediate demand of extradition for their contumacy.

3d. That Garay, with the approbation of Mexico, only transferred to British subjects the colonization part of his grant.

That a government is bound by its own declarations is a fundamental principle of national law.

The Government of the United States, being desirous to obtain for the American people the right of free passage across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, applied, during the armistice at Mexico, to purchase that right. Mexico having replied that she had granted the right sought "to British subjects," the application was never repeated.*

Whether the transit right had been transferred at the date of the negotiation, might have become a question between third parties; but Mexico, as an honorable member of the family of civilized nations, is estopped from alleging the falsehood of her own assertion, to evade a compliance with her own contracts. Indeed, if she had never before granted right of free way across Tehuantepec, her declaration to the American Commissioner constituted an absolute cession of that privilege.

It will not be affirmed that her declarations were made to an enemy, and were therefore not obligatory upon her.

The Publicists say:

"The obligation of keeping faith is so far from ceasing in time of war by virtue of the preference which the duties towards ourselves are entitled to, that it then becomes more a duty than ever. For the same reasons all promises made to an enemy in time of war are obligatory."†

But the declaration of the Mexican government that it had granted away the transit, and that it had been transferred with her sanction, was literally true.

At the date of the declaration, Garay

*It may be well here to correct an error—Mr. Trist in his dispatches says he did not make Mexico any offer for this right of way, though authorized to do so.

† Vattel, 371.

had made to Schneider and Manning and McKintosh a conveyance of certain lands upon the isthmus, in order that their sale and settlement might contribute to the construction of the way of communication.

The terms of the decree of Salas required a notice to the government of any intention to introduce colonists. This was complied with by submitting the contract to the government. The government acknowledged the notice by its endorsement of certain specific conditions intended to give strict effect to the terms of the decree. The contract thus submitted and approved, contained a clause announcing that Garay would in a short time transfer the right of transit to the same parties, or to others.

The Government of Mexico knew that Garay, the proprietor, had an unlimited right to transfer his transit right to natives or foreigners, without notice to Mexico, or without her assent. Hence, the government said to the American Commissioner:

"In the 8th article of your Excellency's draught, the grant of a free passage across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is sought in favor of the North American citizens. We have orally explained to your Excellency, that some years since the government of the Republic granted to a private contractor a privilege with reference to this object, which was soon after transferred, with the sanction of the same government, to English subjects, of whose rights Mexico cannot dispose."

The Mexican government was perfectly aware that the grant had passed from its control, and that unless forfeited for non-compliance with its conditions, she could never resume it.

The charter granted to Garay, his representatives or successors, whether natives or foreigners, the exclusive right of constructing a way of communication across Tehuantepec, and pledged the faith of the Mexican government to maintain his possession.

This absolute deed, with general warranty, gave an unqualified right of assignment, and the Mexican government acknowledged to the American Commissioner that the right of transit, included in the deed, was beyond her control.

The advocates of Mexico have endeavored to show that her acknowledgment had reference only to the transfer of the

lands, and the intention to introduce colonists.

We affirm that the grants only required a notice to the government in regard to the introduction of colonists. It only requires that a public registry of them shall be kept by the company. There are certain personal obligations imposed upon the colonists; but there is no obligation upon the proprietor to communicate to the government any transfer of the transit right, and none whatever to obtain the assent of the government to such transfer.

This is an assertion susceptible of easy disproof, if it be incorrect. The acts of title have been published, and accessible to all. If such a condition exist it can easily be shown.

But having employed the power of transfer to disfranchise the proprietor, the next position of the Mexican argument is particularly illiberal.

4. That a subsequent clandestine transfer was made, or feigned to be made, to British subjects, of the road part of the grant, and kept a secret for a year and a half; and, when made known to the Mexican government, immediately repudiated, and the grant declared to be extinct upon its own limitations.

If there was an unqualified right to transfer the transit right, there could be nothing clandestine in the proprietor disposing of his rights as he might choose. But the intention of Garay to sell to any purchaser was known to the government of Mexico, which had accredited him to its diplomatic representatives in Europe, when the object of his mission was known to be the sale of his privilege. The intention to make the transfer of his transit rights was also published in the 9th clause of the contract submitted to the government.

The government announced its existence to the American Commissioner, and it was consummated 28th September, 1848.

Of this transfer immediate notice was given by the assignees.

There can have been nothing clandestine in the transaction, because there was neither wisdom nor advantage in concealment.

But the explanation is obvious. The government of Mexico was involved in war.

During the greater part of the period referred to, a foreign foe was in possession of her territory and capital.

We apprehend that no one thought much of making canals or rail-roads through Mexican territory at that time, nor could the privilege of Garay have been of much value when the existence of the Republic hung upon the clemency of a conqueror.

The work of construction was interrupted during the continuance of the war, but there was no reason for concealing a transfer which the government of Mexico had declared was made with her "sanction."

5. That the transfers to British subjects were with the view of making the grant a British question, to be enforced by British diplomacy or arms; and failing in that, it was transferred to American citizens with the same view; foreigners all the while remaining interested.

These charges are all unsustained by proof, and contradicted by probability.

The transfer to British subjects was made with the sanction of the Mexican government: it was made to procure the means to construct the way of communication.

Some of the most valuable mines in Mexico are owned by British capitalists. She owes to them a large amount of debt.

Why should her citizens be reproached with having resorted to British capital to render their property more valuable?

The Isthmus of Central America is now under the control of foreign capital, and rendered useful by foreign enterprise.

Why should an imputation so gratuitous be thrown upon Garay for desiring to do what has been so meritorious and profitable in others?

The charge that foreigners (Manning and McKintosh) remain still interested, is unfounded. Their interest would not impair the validity of the title. But they have long since gone into liquidation, and are in no condition to furnish money, or to invoke "the arms or diplomacy" of Great Britain. They are in no wise interested.

The most conclusive evidence has been submitted and published that the grant to Garay has been conveyed by absolute deed, and the whole control of the property vested in American citizens. The removal of the political obstacles will immediately occasion such a distribution of the principal American interests throughout every section of the Union, as will

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Tehuantepec and its Title.

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interest the whole country in this important enterprise.

But these imputations of foreign interest are intended to impair the rights of the proprietors.

Mexico has recently advertised that she will grant the right of way across Tehuantepec to Mexicans or foreigners, or to both together. An enterprising American was understood to have visited Mexico with a view to acquire the same privilege.

We cannot see therefore how the argument that foreigners were interested, could affect the rights of American citizens who have invested their money in the acquisition and development of a property from which they have been evicted forcibly and without compensation.

6. That the transfer of American citizens was after the extinction of the grant.

If the term "extinction" means the expiration of the grant by its term of limitation, it is replied, that extending for two years the term within which the road should be constructed, it has never been extinct by any failure to comply with its own conditions.

If it means that the "extinction" of the grant was by the act of Congress annulling it, then a reference to the dates will show that the convention was signed by Mexico and submitted to the American holder (P. A. Hargous) in 1850, whilst the act of annulment was not until May, 1851. The transfer to the American holder could not therefore have been in either sense *after* the extinction of the grant.

7. That the interoceanic communication was to be a national work, under the auspices of Mexico, and in partnership with the contractor, in whom a personal trust was confided for its execution, Mexico contributing a breadth of ten leagues of land on each side of the route, and the labor of 300 convicts and her protection, Garay to be the directing and managing partner, and the profits of the road to be divided according to the decree of the 1st March, 1842.

If this route was to have been constructed as a national way, how does it happen that there was no national appropriation of money to construct it? Could it be possibly expected that 300 leperos could make a canal two hundred miles long? Could the sale of lands unoccupied since the conquest, or perhaps abandoned, pay for excavations, embankment, ironing, or

equipping a rail-road? It required more than Mexican enterprise, richer than Mexican resources. Hence, no doubt, foreign co-operation was sought.

But Garay was a "directing partner, chosen for his qualities." The terms of the contract between the government and Garay seems to have been this: Mexico stood as grantor of an exclusive right of way and certain waste lands. Garay took the grant, subject to an obligation to commence the work within a given time—complete it, and pay over to the grantor a certain portion of the net proceeds of the perfected work.

Mexico expressly denies her responsibility for any expenses of development or construction, and imposes a forfeiture for failure to construct—not of the situation as directing partner—but of the whole concession. Garay is moreover recognized as the "grantee," his grant is called the "negotiation," in contradistinction from the interest of the government; he is called the "projector," and himself, with those who may have acquired his rights, are termed the "proprietors" of the grant. Indeed the Statement which we are reviewing contains an elaborate argument to prove that the "proprietors" of the grant have forfeited their nationality, which they could not well do if Garay was a "directing partner" without the power of transferring his rights.

8. That Mexico did not intend, by the alienation of the privilege, to have a second edition of the Texas drama, against which Garay himself advises her, stating in his memorial that the covetous eyes of the United States were then fixed upon it.

This is an appeal to the sympathies of those of the United States, if there be any, who regret the annexation of Texas, and regard it as a drama. If a "second edition" of that drama had been intended, there were the mines and the valleys of Sonora, Chihuahua and Durango, contiguous to Texas. Mexico was, and is, unable to protect them from the ravages of the Indians. She relies upon the United States to do this for her, with an open acknowledgment of her own inability to do so. If a new Texas were needed, would not the first scene have been laid in the vicinage of the last? Would the citizens of the United States go nearly one thousand miles from their own territory to rob a right to make a rail-road? Would they have asked the interference of their own government,

and abided patiently by all the forms of law, or would they have embarked with or without a grant, and overrun the country they desired?

This is not a legitimate reason; this open distrust of a government which has preserved Cuba for Spain, and discouraged every symptom of invasion upon the borders of Mexico. But since such appeals are made, it may be replied, there can never be again a Texas drama. Never again will American citizens, invited by the colonization policy of Mexico, organize their institutions within one of her states, and, denied the constitutional rights to which they were entitled, be degraded into a military department. Never again will Mexico invade territory settled by Americans, with a decree of death against all who resist, and denouncing the best men as traitors, drag them like dogs to the dungeons of Perote or Mier. Never again will gallant Americans, deceived by the most sacred promises, draw beans for their lives, or be shot by platoons, in utter disregard of all the rights of citizens and all the sympathy of foes.

There will be no other Texan drama. The Anglo-American will hereafter be free to traverse his own broad continent with no protection except his own nationality.

But with an avowal of such a jealousy of race, with a resolute refusal to make any compensation or allowance to those whom she has despoiled, it seems strange that Mexico should appeal to the people of the United States for sympathy.

9. That the grant was a local privilege, done under the authority and laws of Mexico, unconnected with treaties of the laws of nations, and that questions concerning it are only cognizable in Mexico.

The grant is addressed to all nations at peace with Mexico; it proposes to provide a transit free from any local tax whatsoever. It authorizes the transfer of the grant to foreigners, and pledges the government to maintain their possession.

The acquisition of the property by American citizens has been in consequence of these inducements, and because from the face of the title they could not have anticipated its repeal. Having been deforced of their property, they have no other remedy than an appeal to their own government; and that government, upon a proper state of

facts, will require of Mexico compliance with her covenant or indemnity for having violated it.

There is no difference (says the law of nations) between the sanctity of a covenant made by a nation with a citizen and with a foreign nation: a grant is a contract between the nation and the individual who receives it. It is the more binding from the dignity of the one and the weakness of the other."

Under the convention of 1818, citizens of the United States claim the right of fishing within the jurisdiction of Great Britain; they have been forcibly expelled from their right. Here is a franchise acquired by individuals within the territory and jurisdiction of a foreign power. The rights of our citizens will be enforced by the United States at any cost.

The Americans interested in Tehuantepec have acquired a franchise within a foreign jurisdiction. They have been violently and without indemnity expelled, and their property confiscated. They are entitled to the same protection upon the same principle.*

10. That the grant from the beginning was a mere speculation, the brokerage of a contract procured to be sold, and not to be executed by the grantee, though confided to him to be granted as a personal trust.

The grant of lands for the construction of the way of communication is apparently liberal; how far, when private title shall have been compensated, and the large proportion of mountain region deducted, there shall remain arable lands capable of aiding in the work, it is unnecessary to inquire. But it is not in the United States that such enterprises should be stigmatized.

Mr. Asa Whitney has obtained the recommendations of more than twenty states to his petition that the Federal government will grant him in fee simple a strip of territory commencing on the lakes and terminating on the Pacific. Estimating the area of this grant in square miles, it would bestow upon a

*According to the provisions of a convention between Great Britain and Russia, the Hudson Bay Fur Company considered themselves entitled to trade within the limits of the Russian North American possessions. Having fitted out vessels for this purpose, they found the mouth of the river for which their expedition was directed fortified, and they were forbidden to enter the country.

Great Britain demanded satisfaction for the loss and disappointment occasioned her subjects, and it was accorded.

single proprietor a territory equal to the surface of several states of the Union. Appropriation for a grant of public lands, at least equal in extent, is asked for the rail-road from St. Louis to the Pacific; and the states of the South and West have projected a way of communication by the El Paso and the Gila to the same terminus. The Legislature of Texas and the Congress of the United States have made appropriations of land for constructing sections of this grant, and the public lands are relied on to furnish the principal resources for all. Other states have already received land donations of great extent and value for similar purposes.

Indeed, the policy of the United States, in regard to its public lands, would justify any grant, however liberal, for a way of communication across Tehuantepec. Within the last three years, nearly forty millions acres of public lands have been granted to the states for the construction of rail-roads; whilst at the last session a bill passed the House of Representatives giving to each settler a settlement bounty of 160 acres.

No argument, then, should be drawn against the moral obligations of the Garay grant, from the extent of the land donation, nor from the fact that it was bestowed, as such works generally are, upon an applicant and contractor.

But Garay realized nothing. A man of high personal character, preferring rather to rank amongst the benefactors of mankind than to figure in futile revolutions, after all he has given and done for his enterprise, he has been compelled to abandon it to others.

11. That the grant is null and void, and has been so declared by the National Congress, and its renewal refused, and the treaty to that effect overwhelmingly rejected by the Mexican authorities and people.

This is but repetition. The Congress of Mexico did not refuse to renew the grant, for the holders never requested it, nor did they admit any right to annul it.

The declarations of unwillingness to comply with a covenant, constitutes no proof of its invalidity.

12. That the present assignees, so far as they are bona fide holders, are the dupes of their own folly or carelessness, as all the defects of the grant were open to their detection.

The present assignees are, from the terms of the original and amended char-

ters, all bona fide holders. They are the assignees and successors of Garay; such is their actual and legal description.

The charge of having been the dupes of their own folly and carelessness is a harsh enforcement of the power of construction.

History will show that the title under which the American holders claim, has been acknowledged by six successive Mexican administrations, and that the government of the United States has pronounced it legal.

The proprietors have expended much money, and by their survey and developments have rendered the way of communication valuable. Mexico has confiscated their property and refuses them any compensation. She claims that she is weak, and the United States powerful. She asks to be allowed to cancel her covenants; and her advocates contend that those citizens of the United States who are aggrieved by her act are not entitled to any redress whatsoever.

If it be "folly and carelessness" to have relied upon the moral obligation of Mexico to comply with her engagements, or upon the obligation of their own government to enforce the rights of its own citizens, the owners of the Garay grant must admit the imputation. Not otherwise.

We have discussed the first two propositions, which involve the character and value of the Garay grant, and the unjust and mercenary conduct of Mexico towards the American assignees. We have shown that their title is valid, and that the investment and expenditure have been recognized by our own government.

We will next show that private right and public interest require that the United States should insist upon the specific execution of the title.

When the government of the United States expected to acquire territory on the Pacific, it naturally sought a way of ingress and egress to and from it. Upon the conference of the armistice, Mexico instructed her commissioners to prescribe a northern boundary, twenty leagues in width. This was not to be colonized by either nation, but to remain as a "desert" between them. She also instructed her commissioners to refuse the right of way across Tehuantepec. Her policy was obvious. She knew that if all communication through her dominions could be prevented, the United States would never occupy the Pacific territory acquired by the treaty, if it could

only be settled by immigrants across the Plains, or around the Cape.

The "desert boundary" was not adopted, and the American demand for a "right of free way across Tehuantepec" was withdrawn, because of title in British subjects. But Mexico succeeded in putting the following singular restrictions upon the American right of way to the Pacific, into the Treaty of Peace, Amity and Limits:

"ART. VI.—The vessels and citizens of the United States shall in all time have a free and uninterrupted passage by the Gulf of California, and by the River Colorado, below its confluence with the Gila, to and from their possessions, situated north of the boundary line defined in the preceding article; it being understood that this passage is to be by navigating the Gulf of California and the River Colorado, and not by land, without the express consent of the Government of Mexico.

"If, by the examinations which may be made, it should be ascertained to be practicable and advantageous to construct a road, canal, or railway, which should, in whole or in part, run upon the River Gila, or upon its right or its left bank, *within the space of one marine league from either margin of the river*, the government of both governments will form an agreement respecting its construction in order that it may serve equally for the use and advantage of both countries."

When it is considered that the passage of the Gila lies through a country presenting more physical difficulties than any perhaps on the continent, and that Mexico has reserved the right of "agreement" to any way along its banks, *even on the American side*, the obstacles to an intercourse with the Pacific, upon this route, may be appreciated. They would be greatly increased by the initial point of the boundary, fixed by Mr. Bartlett, if it should be adopted by the government.

From this, it is evident that there will be important obstacles to overcome before a right of way can be obtained by way of the Gila. It is not probable that Mexico will consent to open that way of communication, because it will compete with that which she desires to construct and control by way of Tehuantepec.

Nor is there evidence wanting to prove that Mexico meditates the establishment of an exclusive way, to be constructed and worked for her own benefit.

No sooner had the Mexican Congress

repudiated the title of the American holders, and rejected the Tehuantepec treaty, than it published a decree expressive of the terms upon which it was intended to open the Tehuantepec route. This decree affirmed:

1. That Mexico possessed full and unqualified sovereignty upon the isthmus.
2. That the government should be the controlling partner in the way of communication.
3. That the route should be open and free for all nations in amity with Mexico.
4. That all nations should be invited to guaranty the neutrality of the isthmus in case of war.

The contract for constructing a way of communication, not having been perfected by the government, it proceeded on the 15th August, 1852, to invite proposals upon the following terms:

1. The contractor to construct the work for an agreed sum.
2. The contractor to advance the money necessary to construct the work without regard to cost.

The contractor to be reimbursed under the first proposition, by an annual payment of six and a half per cent; under the second, by an assignment of ninety per cent. of the revenues of the work itself.

The government to be constituted a stockholder to the extent of one third of the work, with power to take the work at any time upon accounting to the contractor for cost and interest. The government reserves free transportation of troops and persons in its employment, and of arms, munitions and property, at one-fourth tariff rates.

It reserves the right to fix "any additional impost upon merchandise or passengers," and prescribes that "*it will not be lawful to transport, without the express order of the government, any foreign troops or munitions of war.*"

The object then of annulling the rights of American citizens is sufficiently plain. It was to gain a large bonus, and make revenue of the intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific states.

The charter of Garry contains the following provisions:

"Under no excuse whatsoever will the government lay any tax or impost duty upon any of the articles passing through the isthmus during the period in which the proprietors shall have the exclusive enjoyment of its proceeds, and in no case shall these (the Custom House officers)

interfere in the collection of freights, lighterage, or tonnage, or any other class of dues, for none shall be payable for vessels loading or unloading for the transport of effects, so long as the communication shall belong to the negotiation."

This gives the American people as free a passage across the isthmus as they would have through any state of the Union. If, however, this be repealed, all persons and property coming into that portion of the Mexican dominion, will be subject to the general law of transit, import or export. The taxes of Mexico are very onerous. Her police in regard to passports and bearing arms is very strict.

Having again resumed the sovereignty which is qualified by the grant to Garay, Mexico would have the undoubted right to impose any taxes upon the intercourse through her dominions, that foreign nations would endure, or she would have the right to discriminate and exclude them from passing through her dominions at all.

Being in undisputed possession of the right of way, Mexico might cede it to some foreign power, or as announced by a leading English journal, France and England may interfere actively in the affairs of Mexico; they may establish "a firm and solid government," and invite the United States, Spain, Holland and Belgium to maintain it.

It is moreover proposed, "that as the Tehuantepec route will inevitably form one of the principal channels of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans," a Commissioner should be appointed to receive the reports of eminent native and foreign engineers as to the best means of constructing this line of communication, "and the powers shall guarantee a loan sufficient to carry it out, on the understanding that the transit duty levied shall be applied to the interest and redemption of the debt."

The United States are more interested than any other nation in this route, because it is the best way of communication between the states of the Union, whereas other countries are only interested, as one of several ways of general commerce. Here then is a plan for paying for the work by a transit duty, which must fall principally upon the people and property passing from one state to another.

Such a disposition of the right of way would be highly profitable to Mexico.

She would receive an annual revenue upon the transit of one hundred millions of gold, one hundred and fifty thousand passengers, a large amount of merchandise, the California mail, besides troops and munitions of war. This would be the contribution of the United States alone.

It is then evidently the interest of Mexico to repeal the obligations of the Garay grant, and impose revenue taxes upon the national commerce passing over the isthmus.

It is equally evident, on the other hand, that the United States and other nations in amity are interested in enforcing her covenant with Garay.

The American holders have been always willing to permit their own government to regulate their charges upon the isthmus, and prescribe any regulations necessary for the comfort and safety of the public. The American people need not, therefore, fear that in preventing the establishment of one monopoly, they are encouraging the organization of another.

But the political importance of a rapid, safe and healthful communication with our states and "orphan territories" on the Pacific, exceeds any question of pecuniary calculation. We may anticipate within a few years a system of states resting upon the Pacific Ocean, and extending to the slopes, valleys, and into the great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. With greater inducements than any colonial settlement has ever presented, we may anticipate more rapid and perfect organization. States will know no interval between embryo and maturity; they will step from the parent brain ready armed for the field or council. They will not be settled by outcasts, convict for heterodox opinion or for social crime. They will comprise the selected energies of a free people; they will organize their relations according to their interests. With a full appreciation of the blessings of the Union, they will hold the "pursuit of happiness" as a paramount object. If the political connection with the Atlantic states be advantageous, it will be preserved; if it be replete with disadvantages, it will be terminated. The chief advantage of the Union to California at present is that it constructs dry docks and custom-houses, establishes branch mints and post routes, and furnishes office holders. The appropriations at present exceed the revenues derived from the Pacific ports. But this will

cease, and be reversed. The revenues derived from the states of the Pacific will in time exceed the appropriation from the federal government. This motive for the connection will then terminate.

The federal government extends an apparent protection to the Pacific States. But suppose, in the present state of intercourse between the two sections, that a maritime nation should declare war against the United States. A descent upon the coast of California, and the capture of her treasure galleons, will be simultaneous with the declaration. The United States will dispatch its volunteers by the isthmian routes, or by the plains, but they will find cities sacked, and all the consequences of successful invasion, whilst the enemy, having slain and ravaged to their satisfaction, will have withdrawn. These will constitute to the Pacific states the responsibilities of belonging to the Union: to pay more than they receive, and to be the defenceless victims of its foreign wars.

The trade of the Indies constituted the prize of centuries; no state has enjoyed it without prosperity, or lost it without decline. The merchants of our Pacific states may not be content with a mere factorage of this trade for others; they may prefer to constitute the medium of distribution, making others tributary to them.

To these tendencies to separate, the want of communication will powerfully contribute. Practically, France, England or Ireland would constitute more accessible members of the confederacy than California or Oregon. Practically, the expense and time of intercourse with those nations would be less by one half than with the Pacific coast or its interior.

It is therefore the identity of origin and institutions that preserves the bond of connection with the Pacific states.

But let us consider the existing obstacles to intercourse in detail. The ways of communication are—

1. By way of the frontier, across the Rocky Mountains and the plains. This is a terrible journey. The time occupied by immigrants is five months. This covers every vicissitude of season and every degree of endurance. Superadded to the casualties of a march so extended, are, the dangers of inundation, fire, disease, want of food, the heartless exactions of those who make a prey of the traveler, and the perpetual depredations of unruly and rapacious savages. The course of

the traveler is pursued by privations and waylaid by death. It is marked with impaired health and disappointed hopes. It is strewn with abandoned values, richer, perhaps, than the mines to which the wanderers go.

An allegorical epitome of that great journey which all must travel, it terminates in an unmarked grave, or in weariness and vexation without ultimate advantage.

The journey across the plains is not like that of a protected people whose "raiment did not wax old upon them." But it is like that disastrous return from a blazing city, in which the foe, the elements, the wild beasts, preyed upon the retreating host, and the richest objects of human desire were abandoned, or torn from the grasp of the dying fugitive.

That this description may not be considered as imaginative, we add some extracts from the report of Capt. Stansbury, U.S.A., (Journey from Leavenworth to the Great Salt Lake,) showing the difficulties encountered by emigrants upon that portion of the route to California.

"June 1, 1849.—Passed a traveling train consisting of about twenty-five ox teams. They had been on the spot several days detained by sickness. In the morning we had met four men from the same camp returning on foot with their effects on their backs, frightened at the danger and disgusted already with the trip.

"June 4.—Meet Sauk Indians, who demand compensation for passing through their country.

"June 5.—Meet a small party of emigrants returning, having sold out their meat and flour at one cent a pound.

"June 6.—Passed a melancholy memento of disappointed hopes and blasted enterprise—four freshly made graves of emigrants.

"June 7.—Passed a fresh grave.

"June 8.—Met a small party returning to St. Louis.

"June 9.—Passed six graves. Meet returning emigrants, discouraged by death and loss of cattle.

"June 10.—Three horses stolen during the night.

"June 11.—Violent storm of rain, prostrates the tents and wets the baggage. Passed six graves within 17½ miles.

"June 12.—Pass an emigrant family, who subsequently saw their wagon in

two to make carts, and dispose of everything they can sell or give away to lighten the load.

"June 13.—Violent storm. There is no shade in the naked prairie during the long fatiguing day. Observe Indians lurking along the road for a chance to steal horses.

"June 14.—Fight reported between emigrants and Indians.

"June 18.—Party complaining of cutaneous irritation from use of salt meat without vegetables.

"June 19.—Emigrants selling meat at one cent, or using it for fuel; pack animals in a horrible condition. Storms and violent rain.

"July 2 and 3.—Difficulties and dangers of crossing Plains described. Ravages of cholera amongst savages.

"July 9.—An excellent double wagon purchased for seventy-five cents.

"July 19.—Passed to-day the nearly consumed fragments of about one dozen wagons that had been broken up and burned by their owners; near them was piled from 600 to 800 pounds of bacon. Boxes, bonnets, trunks, wagon wheels, whole wagon bodies, cooking utensils, in fact, almost every article of household furniture were found from place to place along the prairie, abandoned for want of means of transportation.

"July 21.—The road, as usual, was strewn with fragments of broken and burnt wagons, trunks, and immense quantities of white beans thrown away by the sackful, from fatigue or fear of cholera. Stoves, gridirons, moulding planes and carpenters' tools of all sorts were to be had at every step for the mere trouble of picking them up.

"July 25.—Property of every description was strewn about in every direction, and in much greater quantities than we had yet seen. Twenty-eight persons drowned during the year in crossing the Platte.

"July 27.—Passed eleven wagons broken up. Road strewn with abandoned property. Bar iron and steel anvils and bellows, crowbars, drills, augers, gold washers, chisels, axes, lead trunks, spades, plows, grindstones, ovens, cooking stoves, kegs, barrels, harness, clothing, bacon and beans, were found strewn along the road. The carcasses of eight oxen lying on the road side in one heap explained a part of the trouble. An excellent rifle was found. In the course of this one day the relics of 17 wagons

and the carcasses of 27 oxen have been seen.

"July 28.—Wind so hot and dry as to make respiration difficult. Thirty-one dead cattle and nine oxen passed to-day.

"August 1.—Passed about one dozen burnt wagons and nineteen dead oxen."

We ask whether there can be any intercourse adequate to the relations which ought to unite the states of this confederacy carried on under such appalling obstacles? Will there be any return current from such a journey as we have described? Will the people who have emigrated to California revisit the land of their nativity by this route, or will they relate to their children the terrors of their exodus, and warn them never to cross again a region so replete with dangers?

2. Upon the crossings of the lower isthmus the dangers are as formidable. The line passes for nearly six thousand miles along a coast much of which is dreaded for its rocks, reefs and tornadoes.

The passenger is exposed to all the dangers of fire, explosion, shipwreck, to epidemic and infectious disease, and to all the discomforts of a voyage prolonged to nearly twice the time and distance of the transatlantic passage.

Under these circumstances, it is plain that the intercourse by these routes must be limited to those who travel upon the compulsion of duty, or are stimulated by the appetite for gain. We intend no disparagement, however, to the lower crossings; they are from the nature of things temporary, as far as the intercourse with the Pacific States of the Union are concerned, but they will always be invaluable for the general purposes of Pacific commerce, and for the particular trade of the coast of South and Central America. Tehuantepec itself, offering greater facilities for the inter-state intercourse, will in its turn be superseded by rail-roads crossing the continent in the latitudes of California and Oregon. Until that period, however, it will evidently constitute the shortest and most favorable route.

It will reduce the time between New-York and San Francisco to fifteen days, between New-Orleans and San Francisco to about eleven.

It will, in effect, form a section of the following rail-roads, whilst it will incidentally benefit many others.

1. The New-Orleans and Nashville Rail-road.

2. The Opelousas Rail-road.

3. The Mobile and Chicago Rail-road.
4. The Alabama and Tennessee Rail-road.
5. The Virginia and Tennessee Rail-road.
6. The Richmond and Danville Rail-road.
7. The Southwestern Georgia Rail-road.
8. The Charleston and Hamburg Rail-road.
9. The Savannah and Florida Rail-road.

Each of these nine radial lines, with its interior connections, will contribute to the commercial intercourse between the states and cities of the South and Southwest and the Pacific. The immense resources upon the enumerated routes, and the competition amongst them, will reduce greatly the charges and promote the comfort of the travel upon the Atlantic section of the route to California.

The united intercourse of California and Mexico will have a similar effect upon the cost of crossing the Gulf of Mexico.

The reduction of ocean steaming upon the Pacific coast will contribute to the same result.

It will lessen greatly the cost of mail transportation, because the mail being already paid for through the United States to New-Orleans, Mobile and Pensacola, and provided for across the Gulf

of Mexico to Vera Cruz, the whole coast mail line from New-York around to the point of intersection, off Tehuantepec, would be saved.

The adoption of a route comparatively domestic would diminish greatly the tendency to collision between our citizens and the punctilious authorities of the European dependencies in the West Indies.

The saving on interest and insurance upon the precious metals, would constitute another principal subject of advantage; whilst the reduction of fares, the promotion of health and comfort to the immense number of persons annually passing between the Atlantic and Pacific states, all demand the earnest consideration of the government.

It is therefore obvious, that the effect of a free way of communication for the citizens of the United States across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, would be to shorten the time, reduce the cost and increase the comfort, of their intercourse with the prosperous and expanding states of the Pacific; and if the subject has been placed in the point of view which it merits, it is obvious that the American people are far more interested in securing the right of free passage across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec than the proprietors of the Garay grant.

ART. II.—WISCONSIN.

POPULATION, RESOURCES AND STATISTICS.

THAT part of the territory of Michigan lying west of the Menomonee River and the middle of Lake Michigan, was, on the 4th day of July, 1836, constituted by an act of Congress as the Territory of Wisconsin. In the year 1848, Wisconsin was admitted as one of the states of the Union.

On the northern border of this state is Lake Superior—the largest body of fresh water in the world; and on the east, Lake Michigan—second only to Lake Superior in size—but vastly more important to Wisconsin, as forming a link in the great chain of inland seas that connect her with the east. Besides these vast bodies of water, smaller lakes of crystal clearness are scattered promiscuously over the surface of the state. Many of them are of the most romantic nature,

presenting to the eye scenery that is indescribable, even by the pencil of the artist.

The Mississippi River forms, in part, the western boundary of Wisconsin. Among the tributaries to the "Father of Waters" in the state, are the Wisconsin, Chippewa, Black and St. Croix Rivers. The Mississippi is navigable in all parts bordering on this state. The Wisconsin is also of sufficient depth to admit of small steamers ascending to the "pine regions." The waters of the lakes and rivers usually originate in springs of pure, cold water.

No state in the Union has increased with the same rapidity that Wisconsin has, (unless we except California, whose population can hardly as yet be considered as altogether permanent.) Its population has progressed as follows:

1840, total population.....	30,945
1842, " "	44,478
1846, " "	135,277
1847, " "	210,546
1850, " "	305,538

An increase at the rate of 890 per cent. during the past ten years! At the present time, Wisconsin may safely claim a population of *four hundred thousand*. The number of deaths in the state, for the year 1849, was 3,039, or one to every hundred inhabitants. This is a high degree of health, and facts gathered from the census returns show that Wisconsin is one of the healthiest states in the Union.

Milwaukee is the principal city in the state, situated on the shore of Lake Michigan, ninety miles north of Chicago. This city has increased more rapidly than any city in the world. In 1836, there was but one frame building on the site of Milwaukee, and only one white family residing in this section of the country.

In 1838, the population was.....	800
1840, " "	1,751
1842, " "	2,700
1846, " "	9,635
1847, " "	14,061
1849, " "	18,000
1850, " "	20,061

And at the present time the population is at least 25,000.

Liberal charters for various rail-roads, terminating at Milwaukee, have been granted by the legislature of Wisconsin. The Milwaukee and Mississippi Rail-road Company have already completed their road to Whitewater, (50 miles,) and expect, by the first of January, 1853, to have it completed as far as Madison, the capital of the state, (80 miles.) The western terminus has not yet been determined, but it is generally supposed that Prairie du Chien will be selected as the most eligible point.

That this road will find business enough to keep it fully employed cannot be doubted, when the capabilities of Wisconsin, for its agricultural as well as its mineral productions, are considered, together with Iowa, Minnesota, and Nebraska, as tributaries. In looking back for ten or fifteen years at the advance made in the facilities for travel and transportation, it requires no great stretch of the imagination to foresee the time when a chain of railway will extend to the shores of the Pacific, and that this road will be one of the connecting links in that thoroughfare of the world.

A charter has also been granted for a

rail-road from Milwaukee to Prairie La Crosse, on the Mississippi River; another from Milwaukee to Fond du Lac, on Lake Winnebago; and still another from Milwaukee to Chicago, in the state of Illinois. The city has, by a vote recently taken, loaned her credit for a term of years, for the purpose of aiding in the construction of the last named road, (called the "Lake Shore Rail-road.") In two years' time, it is anticipated this road will be completed, when Milwaukee will be in direct communication with New-York, by rail-road.

At the head of navigation of the Milwaukee River, (which runs through the centre of the city, north and south,) a dam has been built, which raises the water about twelve feet, thereby causing a slack water navigation, extending to the village of Humboldt, some three miles north. A canal of one and a quarter miles long brings this water into town, on the west side of the river, and creates a water-power equal to about one hundred runs of stone. The mills and factories on this canal have the advantage of being located on the immediate bank of the river, and may be approached by the largest class steamers navigating the lakes.

Wisconsin is a grain-producing state, notwithstanding the much-talked-of failure of the wheat crop in the years '49, '50 and '51. The partial failure of this crop during the years just mentioned, has proved a benefit rather than a detriment to the state, causing farmers to turn their attention to a variety of crops, and not to rely entirely on wheat, as they had been in the habit of doing. Considerable attention has been attracted to flax, and large quantities have been raised during the last two years. A farmer at Mukwonago, Waukesha county, has, for a number of years, devoted his time to the cultivation of this article, and with gratifying success. Tobacco is also grown in this state, but whether Wisconsin farmers will be able to compete with their brethren of Maryland and Virginia, is a matter of experiment.

The statistics of four of the counties in eastern Wisconsin, for the year 1850, are as follows:

	Population	No. Acres cleared	No. Farms	Bushel Wheat
Milwaukee.....	39,077.....	32,623.....	985.....	80,096
Waukesha	19,174.....	104,439.....	1,703.....	331,156
Racine.....	14,973.....	64,338.....	971.....	281,149
Kenosha.....	10,732.....	50,938.....	914.....	318,051

With the above population, these four counties had for exportation not less than 500,000 bushels of wheat, being an average of a little upwards of 110 bushels for each farm—which at 50 cents per bushel would be \$250,000. There are other grains, such as rye, Indian corn, oats and barley, which swell the aggregate of small grains to quite a large amount. The quantity of flax raised in these counties for the same year was 58,304 pounds.

Whilst it is generally supposed that the farmers of Wisconsin have been turning their attention almost exclusively to grain, it is gratifying to state that other branches have occupied their attention, the most important of which is that of raising wool.

In these counties, according to the census returns, we find the number of sheep and quantity of wool as follows:

	Sheep	Lbs. of Wool
Milwaukee	4,456	8,330
Waukesha	12,430	26,042
Racine	10,093	20,223
Kenosha	12,767	33,439

During the year 1851, a large number of sheep was brought into Wisconsin from Ohio and Michigan. The amount of wool therefore produced in the above-mentioned counties during the present year will no doubt reach 175,000 lbs. Within four years, the united products of these four counties will not be less than 600,000 lbs. of wool, and will doubtless bring an amount equal to the sum which will then be received for their now greatest staple. These united in the year 1855 will yield not less than half a million of dollars, and nearly double this sum would be realized if the domestic interests were only fostered by the government.

The products of these counties may be taken as a fair basis, in order to form an estimate for the balance of the state. Taking only the 20,000 farms—as reported by the census returns of 1850—as under cultivation, the amount realized by farmers on wool and wheat would be \$2,300,000 at present prices.

For the following statement of the imports and exports of the eastern district of Wisconsin—comprising the ports of Milwaukee, Racine, Kenosha, Sheboygan, Port Washington and Manitowoc—we are indebted to ALLEN W. HATCH, Esq., the efficient collector of the port:

MILWAUKEE—JANUARY, 1851-1852.

Imports.

Merchandise, tons	23,090
Sundries, bbls./bulk	39,697
Salt, bags	24,535
Salt, bbls.	24,364
Fruit, bbls.	10,372
Fish, bbls.	849
Lumber, sawed	26,184,322
Lath	4,368,500
Shingles	12,953,750
Cedar Posts	10,367
High Wines and Whisky, bbls.	4,078
Coal	1,515
Water Lime and Plaster, bbls.	1,484
Cut Stone, tons	250
Cheese, lbs	124,240
Tan Bark, cords	1,275
Rail-road Iron, tons	566
Pig Iron	357
Locomotives	4
Fruit Trees	11,150
Potters' Clay, tons	160

Exports.

Flour, bbls	113,923
Pork, bbls.	3,682
Beef, bbls.	2,331
Wheat, bushels	181,904
Oats, bushels	47,063
Barley, bushels	175,723
Corn, bushels	22,233
Wool, lbs	226,256
Hides, lbs	385,840
Ashes, tons	262
Lard, lbs	29,120
Broom Corn, tons	843
Merchandise, tons	741
Sundries, bbls. bulk	22,996
Lead, lbs	987,840
Lime, bbls	2,500
Brick	353,000

RACINE.

Imports.

Merchandise, tons	1,916
Sundries, bbls. bulk	5,857
Salt, bags	4,000
Salt, bbls.	6,734
Fruit, bbls.	4,004
Fish, bbls.	300
Lumber, sawed	10,500,000
Shingles	3,600,000
High Wines and Whisky, bbls	733
Coal, tons	463
Pig Iron, tons	117
Water Lime and Plaster, bbls.	500
Cut Stone, tons	100
Cheese, lbs	21,000
Tan Bark, cords	100

Exports.

Flour, bbls	22,977
Pork, bbls.	1,112
Beef, bbls.	1,712
Wheat, bushels	272,674
Oats, bushels	80,893
Barley, bushels	40,908
Corn, bushels	18,941
Wool, lbs	166,471
Hides, lbs	112,000
Ashes, tons	55
Lard, lbs	22,400
Merchandise, tons	448
Sundries, bbls. bulk	7,377
Hay, tons	250
Ship Knees	279

KENOSHA.

Imports.

Merchandise, tons	1,532
Sundries, bbls. bulk	7,522

Salt, bags	3,150
Salt, bbls	2,933
Fruit, bbls	2,141
Fish, bbls	50
Lumber, sawed	3,716,817
Lath	187,900
Shingles	168,290
Cedar Posts	2,421
High Wines and Whisky, bbls	686
Coal, tons	161
Water Lime and Plaster, bbls	245
Pig Iron, tons	4

Exports.

Flour, bbls	2,052
Pork, bbls	56
Wheat, bushels	233,062
Oats, bushels	50,769
Barley, bushels	55,196
Corn, bushels	31,168
Wool, lbs	30,731
Hides, lbs	20,160
Merchandise	273
Sundries, bbls, bulk	5,045

SHEBOYGAN.**Imports.**

Merchandise, tons	2,446
Sundries, bbls, bulk	1,262
Salt, bags	800
Salt, bbls	650
Fruit, bbls	500
High Wines and Whisky, bbls	20
Coal, tons	38
Pig Iron, tons	30
Water Lime and Plaster, bbls	100

Exports.

Flour, bbls	163
Fish, bbls	3,384
Oats, bushels	3,650
Barley, bushels	1,000
Wool, lbs	9,250
Hides, lbs	60,440
Ashea, tons	201
Sundries, bbls, bulk	934
Merchandise, tons	73
Lumber	1,833,800
Lath	247,000
Shingles	1,100,000

PORT WASHINGTON.**Imports.**

Merchandise, tons	1,600
Sundries, bbls, bulk	1,500
Salt, bbls	900
Fruit, bbls	500
High Wines and Whisky, bbls	1,000

Exports.

Flour, bbls	3,000
Fish, bbls	200
Oats, bushels	2,000
Barley, bushels	1,500
Ashea, tons	900
Brick	500,000
Wood, cords	10,000
Staves	200,000
Hops, tons	10
Hoop Poles	50,000
Potatoes, bushels	25,000

MANITOUWOC.**Imports.**

Flour, bbls	661
Pork, bbls	437
Beef, bbls	74
Meal, bbls	558
Salt, bbls	855
Vinegar, bbls	65
Butter, firkins	120
Lard, lbs	7,800

Fresh Pork, lbs	15,400
Mutton Hams, lbs	7,000
Beans, bush	138
Water Lime and Plaster, bbls	130
Merchandise, tons	305

Exports.

Lumber	4,835,060
Lath	655,000
Pickets	275,000
Shingles	15,467,000
Cedar Posts	6,700
Shingle Bolts, cords	1,750
Wood, cords	1,750
Tan Bark, cords	75
Square Timber	8,000
White Fish, bbls	1,190
Cranberries, bbls	36
Potash, tons	2
Black Salts, tons	2
Maple Sugar, lbs	2,500

TOTAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FOR THE YEAR 1852.**Imports.**

Merchandise, tons	30,980
Sundries, bbls, bulk	55,838
Salt, bags	31,985
Salt, bbls	35,736
Fruit, bbls	17,517
Fish, bbls	1,208
Lumber, sawed	40,401,139
Lath	4,556,400
Shingles	13,125,640
Cedar Posts	12,788
High Wines and Whisky, bbls	6,517
Coal, tons	2,177
Pig Iron, tons	608
Water Lime and Plaster, bbls	2,459
Cut Stone, tons	350
Cheese, lbs	123,000
Tan Bark, cords	1,375
Rail-road Iron, tons	556
Locomotives	4
Potters' Clay, tons	72
Fruit Trees	11,150

Exports.

Flour, bbls	142,015
Pork, bbls	5,000
Beef, bbls	4,043
Fish, bbls	4,774
Wheat, bush	687,634
Oats, bush	193,405
Barley, bush	274,327
Corn, bush	72,342
Wool, lbs	372,708
Hides, lbs	504,500
Ashea, tons	1,418
Lard, lbs	46,000
Brown Corn, tons	843
Merchandise, tons	1,535
Lead, tons	987,840
Lime, bbls	2,500
Brick	853,000
Hay, tons	250
Ship Knees	279
Lumber	6,658,800
Lath	1,102,000
Shingles	16,666,000
Wood, cords	11,750
Staves	200,000
Hops, tons	10
Hoop Poles	50,000
Potatoes, bush	25,000
Sundries, bbls, bulk	36,150

The valuation of the exports from the eastern district of Wisconsin, for the year 1851, is...\$2,156,129 10
 Loss to the district by partial or total wreck, from the year 1830 to 1851 inclusive...\$312,150 00
 Tonnage of the district...6,526
 Seamen employed...323

The following statistics of the exports from the state bordering on the Mississippi, we extract from the speech of Hon. Otis Hoyt, in the Assembly of 1852:

There are on the Mississippi River, above the mouth of the St. Croix River, engaged in cutting logs, eleven saws—cutting 15,000,000 feet of sawed lumber annually, at \$10 per thousand feet.....	\$150,000
10,000,000 feet of logs.....	50,000
On the St. Croix River, there are seventeen saws—cutting 36,000,000 feet, at \$10.....	360,000
22,000,000 logs, at \$5.....	110,000
Square timber, lath, &c.....	10,000
The Chippewa River yields 20,000,000 feet of lumber, at \$10.....	200,000
1,000,000 feet of logs, at \$5.....	50,000
Square timber, lath, shingles, &c.....	5,000
The Black River yields 15,000,000 feet of lumber, at \$10.....	150,000
Logs, square timber, lath, shingles, &c.....	15,000
Furs and peltries from the whole region.....	300,000
The whole amount of exports from this part of the state, is estimated at.....	1,170,000

In concluding this article, we would say, that the undeveloped resources of Wisconsin have attracted the attention of capitalists and scientific men. The extent of her territory, and the fertility of the soil, ready, by the alternations of prairie and timber, for the labor of the husbandman, bid fair to make this one of the first agricultural states in the Union.

Internal improvements are needed to bring into communication with the markets the interior counties; but all the lake shore on the east, and the river counties on the west, enjoy the best natural facili-

ties for easy access to the east and south, affording promise of great agricultural and commercial prosperity. Perhaps no state can enjoy so many advantages at so little expense.

The towns in the interior are destined to a rapid growth, for the rail-road system will give to them nearly all the advantages heretofore enjoyed by the river and lake towns, and the farmers in every part of the state will have, at their own doors, a ready market for their surplus products. It only remains an open question whether manufactures may be successfully introduced, so as to augment the resources and quicken into greater activity other industrial pursuits. It has been said that Wisconsin cannot become a manufacturing state, because there are no extensive coal beds to furnish motive power; but whether manufactures are dependent upon the supply and cost of coal, and whether wood and water may not afford a sufficient and economical substitute, are questions yet to be solved.

The construction of canals in the older states a few years ago increased the manufacturing facilities by furnishing a large water-power; and why may not Wisconsin, which abounds in natural water-falls and rapid streams, turn them to advantage to increase her resources and benefit her sons?

ART. III.—FREE BANKING.

PART III.

THE use of state or government stocks as securities for a paper currency, involves the most important considerations. It opens up all the questions touching a public debt, to which we must in due course direct our attention.

Our first proposition is, that the credit of a state is no fit foundation for a paper currency. The stocks of a state are only its promissory notes.

Upon these, as securities, free banking bases a lower order or stratum of promissory notes, viz.: the notes or paper promises of banks, and again, for these are exchanged the notes or promises of private persons—thus giving us a descending series of credits, from the peo-

ple as a government, to the people as individuals. The result of such a scheme is obvious and irresistible.

The whole fabric of the currency being built on credit accumulated on credit, the edifice gradually expands and enlarges, and finally becomes so large and overtowering, that it is borne down almost by its own superincumbent weight, crushing the whole community beneath its ruins. No prudent merchant would knowingly extend his confidence to the country dealer whose whole resources were built on similar frail foundations. He would feel that he was recklessly careless to sell out his property to individuals whose credit was built on the

credit of a class of other individuals, who in turn obtained their credit from some other and still more distant individuals, whose own wealth, in fine, was but a mere credit itself.

To say nothing of the frailty of such a foundation for a currency, what must be the effect of the scheme on the whole system of values? Is it not plain that such a multiplication and overriding of credit on credit gives the whole paper money system an accelerated and accumulated energy, which grows with its every impulse. It is the elastic ball, whose velocity increases with every rebound, until the rapidity of its speed baffles the skill of those who set it in motion. Once started, the expansive system can never stop, but must go on increasing in power. Bear with us a moment, while we recall a few incidents in the history of our currency. During our Revolutionary struggle the Continental Congress issued about three hundred millions of paper money, in the shape of bills of credit, and such was the untoward result of that action, that in 1787 every precaution was taken to guard against the occurrence of such evils. "Now," said Oliver Ellsworth, "is the favorable moment to shut and bar the door against paper money." The states were positively prohibited by the constitution from making anything but gold and silver a legal tender, and the federal government was denied the power of emitting bills of credit or establishing a national bank. To make their opinions still more explicit, the hard money men of 1789, in the very first revenue act of Congress, prohibited the payment of revenue dues and duties with anything but gold and silver. It was not long, however, before the ingenuity of interest overleaped all such restrictions. The convulsions of 1819, 1825 and 1837, each and singular, attest the rapid growth of our banking system. The most memorable of those revulsions was that of 1837. During the three preceding years our banking capital had increased ninety-one millions, and our banking circulation fifty-four millions. The loans rose from three hundred and twenty-five to five hundred and twenty-five millions, being an average annual expansion of about fifty millions of dollars. The effect of this inflation of credit was instantaneous and tremendous. Men who had laughed at the insane bubbles of the Mississippi and South Sea speculations,

now found themselves in the vortex of an excitement well nigh as maddening. We need not detail the result of that excitement. The recoil is yet fresh in our minds. He who was the millionaire and capitalist of the spring-tide had hardly wherewith to get a breakfast in the succeeding winter, even though his pockets were crammed with thousands in bank paper. But it was not the millionaire alone or mostly who suffered by that panic. The laborer was the man upon whom that blighting bank revulsion fell most terribly. Well might it be said of all such paper manias, "that they are the most effectual of all the inventions to fertilize the rich man's field with the sweat of the poor man's brow. Ordinary tyranny, oppression and taxation—these bear lightly on the happiness of the community, compared with fraudulent currencies and the robberies committed by depreciated paper."

And now, if our state government do not adopt prompt measures to arrest the further increase of our paper currency, the scenes of 1837 will again be repeated. Then the currency rose to the enormous amount of one hundred and forty-nine millions. From this excessive expansion it sank in 1843 to fifty-eight millions, and in 1847 rose to one hundred and five millions, and now, in 1852, it has attained the height of one hundred and sixty millions. And this, too, at a time when a tide of gold is setting in from every shore, and when the receipts of coin from California have in the aggregate reached two hundred millions.

What stability can there be in the value of property or contracts? What steady employment can labor expect, when the artificial standard by which property contracts and labor are measured, is thus constantly and violently fluctuating? In other words, when your currency is periodically depreciated by an over-issue of paper.

We deride and condemn the mean artifice of those monarchs who debased their coin and unsettled the standard of value in use among their own people. And yet this very thing we condemn—this monstrous power to violate all contracts and prostrate labor, has been bestowed by the legislatures of republican government on moneyed corporations.

Government dare not debase its coin, but banks are invested with the sovereign power to depreciate the currency at will. And as if to encourage them to perpetu-

ate the abuse, they are permitted to levy a tax, in the shape of discounts and interests, on this enormous and expanded circulation of \$160,000,000.

Now, while banks have this power, without limitation, the requiring of security for the circulation, to protect the billholder, is a mere mockery; for we may anticipate a succession of expansions and contractions of the currency, overthrowing all credit, and prostrating every branch of industry.

Free banking is one thing—free trade in the manufacture of paper-money is a very different affair. Free trade in the issue of paper-money has never succeeded any where. The more free the manufacture of paper-money, the more it is enlarged, and as the amount increases, the danger of revulsions becomes more imminent. It is true there cannot be an indefinite expansion of a currency which is convertible into coin. The liability of the paper to be returned home for coin tends, we know, to keep it at the same average. Nevertheless, the vibrations of an elastic currency are sometimes considerable before the check of the law of supply and demand can operate. Other causes may tend to sustain exchange, and thus to maintain an inflated paper issue. In 1837 we saw those causes at work, and the expansion reached an increase of nearly fifty per cent. on the whole amount of the currency, which was followed by contractions to less than the former circulation.

Whilst we are busy in providing, lest a man should lose a one-dollar note, we have made no provision against a fluctuation which changes the value of his property one-half, reduces a claim he may have to receive one-half, or doubles the debt he may have to pay. The remedy of this evil has received too little attention from our modern legislators; and yet, it is of the first importance in a sound banking system, and should at once control our legislation.

No banking statutes should be sanctioned which do not limit, by some fixed and proper standard, the extent of our paper circulation. This is the grievous evil, to the removal of which Ricardo addressed his clear and able intellect, and which finally resulted in the famous Bullion Act of Sir Robert Peel.

It is therefore plain, that stocks in themselves are no proper securities against an inflated currency.

The practical operation of the system

is obvious. First come the issues of state stocks, created by the contraction of debts exceeding the revenue. Upon these are built the banks; the credit of the state being converted into a sort of reservoir, from which the faint and exhausted credit of individuals is refreshed and renewed. Speculation, which the previous want of capital so strongly prohibited, now springs up with an unnatural and redoubled power. The credit extended by the bank to its friends spreads through every ramification of commerce, enhancing nominal values, and giving large profits to the bold and daring adventurer. Prudent men are at length caught in the tide, and larger obligations and greater debts are contracted. Finally, however, payday will come round, as come it must. The note-payers find their means looked up in their speculations. Their profits are still too small to realize, and new loans must be contracted. The banks soon find themselves immeasurably expanded. Money becomes a little scarce, and there is a cry for more banks and more paper money. To establish new banks, new public debts and new stocks must be created. The old stocks have been absorbed, and the demand for them has carried their value to an inflated and fictitious height. The idea of large premiums on six per cent. loans soon fascinates the legislature, and new improvements are devised, and new debts contracted. Extravagant schemes are projected, and great systems of railways and canals are set on foot. Thus it is that a huge debt is created, an expanded currency created, and heavy taxation originated, which must ultimately result in pecuniary disaster of the severest character.

Let us look at New-York and see if we have not here sketched the outline of her recent banking career. In the convention of 1846, her finances were the subject of grave and anxious debate. In the records of that convention, the reports and speeches of Hoffman, Cambreleng, Chatfield and others, all bear on two great subjects—the public debt and the currency. They were, in fact, the great objects which the convention had assembled to arrange. After a most searching discussion, the able views of Mr. Hoffman were adopted. He contended that the state debt should be paid at the earliest moment, and with the least possible charge of interest. "If we want," said he, "a great charnel-house of pauperism, go on with these debts and taxation. Go

on and borrow money to squander it all over the state again in internal improvements. * * * It was the accursed power of taxation which made pauperism, produced crime, misery and distress in all countries, and he looked to his children as a parent, when he said that he desired not to see their limbs fettered, or their bodies withered, by any accursed debtor system, by whomsoever begun."

In accordance with such ideas, the VIIth article of the New-York Constitution was adopted by a large vote. That article contemplated the entire payment of the state debt by the year 1862, and positively prohibited the Legislature from contracting any debt, except in the extraordinary events of war, invasion, &c., unless the law authorizing such debt at the same moment provided for its liquidation, in 18 years, by direct annual taxation. And, as if to guard still further against abuse, all such laws were required to receive the sanction of a direct vote of the people. With these restraints and checks, it was hoped that that great state would avoid all the calamities of an enormous public debt. But alas! the same convention which adopted these restraints, also adopted the free banking clause, making the stocks of the state the basis and security of the currency. The same instrument which prohibited the creation of a new debt, made it the interest of the all potent moneyed power to have an unending and illimitable state debt.

What was the consequence? Why, state stocks soon got scarce and high. New banks were wanted, and bankers began to seek new sources of security.

Only six years after the adjournment of the convention a large majority of the legislature passed the Canal Enlargement Bill—an act which, violating the spirit and letter of the VIIth article of the Constitution, creates a new debt of \$7,000,000, and authorizes banking on deposit of the scrip or certificates of the debt. It is true that an enlightened judiciary decided the bill unconstitutional, but the machinery of party has been brought to bear on the subject, and the VIIth article has been evaded, and the bill will now succeed, and the labors of the convention to free the state from "the accursed debtor system," be utterly and forever lost.

Now, what is true of New-York will be ten-fold more true of Louisiana. If we have free banking, we will have an

inflated currency and an endless public debt. And will the pay-day never come round? Are these "Dædalian wings" of paper money always to bear us aloft? These stocks must one day be paid or renewed. Interest on interest will accumulate. In seventeen years the debt will be doubled. Taxation must grow oppressive, and the wages of labor, the rewards of agriculture, and the returns of commerce will dwindle and droop. Speculation will cease and "hard times" will become household words. Once stricken with panic the whole fabric of credit will totter, and the flimsy free banks, whose foundations are paper, will fall around us

"Thick as autumn leaves that strew the bank"
In Valombrosa."

There is really no limit to the system, but its own destruction. Its great curse is its constant tendency to excess. What then is worse adapted to the peculiar exigencies of Louisiana than such a plan? It has no merit for our state, whose greatest aim should be to set her currency and credit on the soundest basis, so that foreign capital will be invited to us, and thus the limited means, now possessed, be left free to the pursuit of more active enterprise and commerce. And here we will say—because it is true for us, as it is true for all—that no scheme of finance—no new plan of getting rich fast—no quick road to prosperity, will avail us aught. There is one way and only one, and that is stern and rigid economy—economy personal, municipal and state. These royal roads to wealth will always lead to the slough of despond. Let us get up from our apathy—call not on Hercules—but help ourselves, in the only way, by which true men ever help themselves—economy, perseverance and industry. These are better than all the captivating schemes of finance. Without them neither banks nor credits can help us.

The history of free banking in New-York demonstrates not merely that a public debt is necessary to the existence of the institution, but also and principally demonstrates that free banking generates a tendency to create debt and to indulge in unwise and extravagant improvements. Where it exists, all conservative and restraining tendencies (which are feeble enough at best) are taken from the legislature, and a proclivity is engendered to borrow money and saddle posterity with a load of debt, from which

they may never recover. For free banking is but a temporary policy, unless the state is always in debt. It has its existence only as long as the debt shall last, and however remote may be the day of our deliverance from such a burden, we certainly ought not to build our monetary system on a basis so temporary that in a few years more we may be called on to remodel it entirely, because there are no longer public debts or stocks to build it on. Either the one or the other alternative will occur—that the use of stocks for banking will breed a system of extravagance, which will plunge us into the most desperate calamity, or that if our legislature wisely resist all the influences of a potent moneyed power and constantly curtail the debt and pay off the interest and principal, that then, sooner or later, free banks must themselves stop; and thus the country be thrown back to the starting point and be forced to adopt some new system, which will establish the currency and secure the public.

So that, take it at best, free banking is but a scheme for to-day, and can never be looked to as “a final settlement of all the questions” pertaining to the currency. How much better then would it be to start some other plan which could stand every change, and not depend on the ever-shifting and changeable policy that may prevail in our state. But perhaps some will contend that no conceivable period can occur when the state or federal government will be out of debt, and that it is not moreover desirable to hasten such an event.

The peculiar condition of Great Britain has of late years drawn great attention to the general subject of a public debt. It is now urged that a national debt is an essential element in modern civilized states, affording convenient investments for the widow, orphan and learned professions, and furthermore, securing by the tie of interest, direct and personal, the devotion of the citizen to good order and strong government. How far this may be true of Great Britain it is not necessary to discuss. Two things are clear: first, that the stocks of judiciously managed railways and canals afford quite as good a security for investments as many of our state stocks; and secondly, that a government which has to preserve itself from rebellion and riot by the timidity and caution of its citizen creditors, is not fit for the dissemination

and development of republican principles. Bad enough is it when a perpetual debt is entailed on a people by an extravagant and dissolute ancestry; but grievous and accursed is such a debt when it chains the people down to bad laws and bad government, which they dare not disturb lest they be impoverished in the agitation they create. Long distant be the day when our government is upheld by such considerations. Its true foundation is in the affections of the people, not in their fear. A national debt is a national evil—sometimes necessary, but always to be avoided if possible. It were better, often, nay, most of the time, that the government should raise the required funds within the year and by the cheapest system of taxes. The man of commerce may frequently do well to borrow money at interest. His occupation and his profits permit it; but a nation, except in case of war, &c., had far better raise her revenue by taxes than loans. When a government commences to borrow she is first to pay her brokers and agents, and then year after year an accumulation of interest.* That interest is an annual tax on labor, which makes the bread of the poor man bitter with the ill-paid sweat of his brow. Let us beware, then, how we build up a currency on so dangerous a basis—dangerous, not because it is insecure, but doubly, trebly dangerous, because of its tempting premiums, which gild the bitter pill of debt, and make us put off the day of redemption to “a more convenient season.”

And do the people know the cost of a public debt? If not, let them hear the words of wisdom:

“Taxes upon every article that enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot; taxes upon everything which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell or taste; taxes upon warmth, light and locomotion; taxes on everything on earth and the waters under the earth; taxes on the sauce which pampers man’s appetite and the drug which restores him to health; taxes on the ermine which decorates the judge and the rope which hangs the criminal; on the poor man’s salt and the rich man’s spice; on the brass nails of the coffin and the ribbons of the bride; at bed or board, couchant or levant, we must pay.”†

* We learn that the late loan of \$2,000,000, effected by the city of New-Orleans, cost her, for negotiating it, the round sum of \$20,000.

† Sidney Smith to Brother Jonathan.

Debt, filth and sin have been termed the great enemies of man; and well does debt deserve its bad pre-eminence, when even to England, whose life seems well nigh immortal, and whose resources have been as exhaustless and whose vigor as fresh as if she were gifted with perennial and unfailing youth—when even she, with all her untold energy and noble people, has sunk under its withering and prostrating power.

Unless suggested by necessity and controlled by prudence; unless administered with economy and followed by frugality, borrowing is to nations as well as to individuals the high road to ruin.

It is the ease of borrowing, compared with the difficulty of paying; the natural disposition to get a present command of money, and leave the task of paying it off to posterity, which is the temptation that so often proves irresistible. There is, moreover, this extraordinary and peculiar danger in the lavish contraction of debt by a government, that by the present great expenditure with which it is attended, a very great impulse is communicated at the time to every branch of industry, and thus immediate prosperity is generated out of the source of ultimate ruin.

But if this feverish and inflated prosperity is created by the mere contraction and spending of loans, what must be its still greater increase, when those loans are made the basis of our currency, and when every dollar of loan sets into circulation another dollar of paper, which in its turn sets in motion the whole expanding and extending machinery of banking credits!

Under the combined influence of a vast contraction and disbursement of loans and an extensive paper circulation, the resources of the nation will seem to be increased in a rapid and unparalleled progression. Prices will advance, profits will grow higher, and all who make trade their pursuit will find themselves in a state of amazing prosperity. But is this prosperity real? Do they not know that "these floods of wealth are obtained by exhausting the reservoirs of future affluence, and that a long period of depression and languor must follow this

feverish and unnatural tract of excitement?"* It was just such prosperity as this which waited on England during all her contests with Napoleon. During the whirl and excitement of that war, her commerce was flourishing, her finances well ordered, and her manufactories reaping a golden harvest. But when the war and its excitements were over, and the interest on the debt grew onerous, how deplorable was her condition? Her commerce was paralyzed, her manufactories were closed, and posterity was bequeathed an heir-loom of debt, which now crushes the hopes of her most ardent sons.

And yet this mountain of debt reared its head less than two centuries ago. Like the small vapor of the fairy tale, it has gradually swelled forth and up into its present huge and giant-like proportions, standing ready to crush all beneath and around it.

Let us take heed, then, how we, even indirectly, encourage a public debt. In itself a curse, it will be doubly so, if we make it the basis of our currency.

No trivial objection to free banking, is the intimate connection it begets between the government and the banks. All the evils of a United States Bank, with few of its benefits, are attendant on the system.

The action of a government must be strongly affected by her system of finances. Whatever class of her people holds her debt, will exercise an overwhelming influence in shaping her policy. Talk as we may, if banks become the creditors of government, either the one or the other will rule. Wherever such a relation has existed, corruption has been rife, and in the end both the people and the bank have been injured.

Ten years ago "Divorce of Bank and State" was the catch-word of party. However it may be forgotten, the reasons for such a divorce are as potent now as ever.

In our next we will adduce some facts which are developed by the practical working of free banking, and which lead us to still further condemn the system.

* Alison's Europe.

ART. IV.—SOUTHERN AGRICULTURAL EXHAUSTION
AND ITS REMEDY.*

THE great error of southern agriculture is the general practice of exhausting culture—the almost universal deterioration of the productive power of the soil—which power is the main and essential foundation of all agricultural wealth. The merchant or manufacturer, who was using (without replacing) any part of his capital to swell his early income—or the ship-owner, who used as profit all his receipts from freights, allowing nothing for repairs or deterioration of capital—would be accounted by all as in the sure road to bankruptcy. The joint-stock company that should (in good faith, as many have done by designed fraud) annually pay out something of what ought to be its reserved fund, or of its actual capital, to add so much to the dividends, would soon reach the point of being obliged to reduce the dividends below the original fair rate, and, in enough time, all the capital would be so absorbed. Yet this unprofitable procedure, which would be deemed the most marvelous folly in regard to any other kind of capital invested, is precisely that which is still generally pursued by the cultivators of the soil in all the cotton-producing states, and which prevailed as generally, and much longer in my own country, and which, even now, is more usual there than the opposite course of fertilizing culture. The recuperative powers of nature are indeed continually operating, and to great effect, to repair the waste of fertility caused by the destructive industry of man, and but for this natural and imperfect remedy, all these southern states (and most of the northern likewise) would be already barren deserts, in which agricultural labors would be hopeless of reward, and civilized men could not exist.

Let me not be understood as extending censure to all southern agriculture, and charging this great defect as being universal. It is truly very general—but there are numerous exceptions, of which

it is not my purpose to treat. My present business is with errors and defects of southern agriculture, and with its points of admitted excellence—as, for example, the elaborate system of rice culture, and, for other tillage, the very general and commendable attention paid to the collection of materials for putrescent manures. Nothing has appeared to me more remarkable in the agriculture of this region than the close neighborhood, (often, indeed, seen on the same property,) of the best husbandry in some respects, and almost the worst in most others.

The great error of exhausting the fertility of the soil is not peculiar to cotton culture, or to the southern states. It belongs, from necessity, to the agriculture of every newly-settled country, and especially where the land, before being brought under tillage, was in the forest state. When first settled upon, forest land costs almost nothing, and labor is scarce and dear. Even if labor is more abundant, it still will be long before enough land can be cleared to allow changes of culture and rest to the fields; and for some years after each new clearing, it would be even beneficial to continue the tillage of corn, tobacco, or cotton, so as effectually to kill all remains of the forest growth. But as soon as enough land can be brought under culture, and has been put in clean condition, so as to allow space for change of crops and due respite from continual tillage, the previous exhausting course will no longer be best even for early profit. Even in a new country, while land is yet fertile, it is cheaper to preserve that fertility from any exhaustion, than it is to reduce it considerably. And in an older agricultural country, like South Carolina, having abundant resources in marl and lime for improving fertility, it would be much cheaper, and more profitable, to improve an acre of before exhausted land, than it is to clear and bring under culture an acre of ordinary land from the forest state, allowing that both pieces are to be brought to the same power and rate of production.

New settlers are not censurable for beginning this exhausting culture. But they and their successors are not the less

* This interesting paper was read by Edwin Ruffin, Esq., of Virginia, the justly celebrated American agriculturist, at the late Fair of the South Carolina Institute, in Charleston, S. C., which we had the pleasure of attending. The author has kindly furnished us a corrected copy, which we hasten to lay before our readers, omitting only the introductory portions, which are of local or personal character.

condemnable for continuing it after the circumstances which justified it have ceased. The system was first begun in Eastern Virginia, because it was the first settled part of the present United States, and it continued to prevail almost universally until since the course of my adult life began; and only has partially ceased since, because the country was nearly reduced to barrenness, and the proprietors to ruin. From this erroneous policy so long pursued in Virginia, and the manifest and well-known disastrous results in the general and seemingly desperate sterility of the older-settled portion of the state, the younger southern states might have taken warning, and have learned to profit by the woful and costly experience of others. But it seems that every agricultural community must and will run the same race of exhausting culture, and impoverishment of land and its cultivators, before being convinced of the propriety of commencing an opposite course—after the best means and facilities for making that beneficial change have been greatly impaired by the lapse of time, and progress of waste of fertility—if indeed these means are not then irretrievably forfeited.

If, at this time, the work of improvement, with the aid of marl and lime, were properly begun and prosecuted, there would be found here incalculable advantages over those of the pioneers in the like work in Virginia. These advantages would be, first: A tenfold better supply of far richer and cheaper marl than is found in Virginia. Second: Much more remaining organic matter, or original fertility of the soil, as yet unexhausted. Third: Full information to be obtained of the operations and opinions of thousands of experienced and successful marlers to refer to, of which advantage there was almost nothing existing thirty years ago. In South Carolina, more marling could now be done in a year, and in a proper manner, than was done in Virginia for the first twenty years; and, though judging merely by analogy, I infer that the benefit would not be less great in this region than in my own.

And now I will state, from unquestionable official documents, something of what has been effected in Virginia—not merely in cases of particular farms, and those entirely marled, which might show tripled or quadrupled products and market returns, and tenfold intrinsic value,

compared to their former low condition—but cases showing the bearing of the comparatively few marled and limed farms on the aggregate assessed value of all the lands in Lower Virginia, and upon the receipts of land-tax from the same, although not one twentieth part of the whole tide-water district has yet been improved in fertility, or is the least better (and, probably, the great remainder is much poorer) than when the marling of other lands first began to raise the general average of assessed values throughout this whole district.

It appears, from the latest state assessment of lands in Virginia for 1850, that the actual increase of value in the tide-water district only, since 1838, the previous assessment, was more than seventeen millions of dollars. On this increase of valuation, and at the same rate of taxation, there is more than \$17,000 increase of land-tax alone accruing annually to the state treasury. It is obvious that any increased value of lands, caused by their increased production, would necessarily require an increase of labor, and of farming stock, and would produce proportional increase of general wealth of the improvers, and would add other receipts from taxes in proportion—all serving still more to augment the public revenue.

The recent addition to the aggregate value of lands in Eastern Virginia, is admitted to be the effect of agricultural improvements; and that more than all the net increase is due to marling and liming only, would be equally evident, if I could here adduce the proofs, as I have done elsewhere.* Further—though 1838 was the date of the earliest assessment made after marling and liming had begun to increase aggregate production and value of lands, it is an unquestionable fact, that the general impoverishment had been greater, and values much lower, about 1828. And if this earlier time and greatest depression had been marked by an assessment then made, the full increased value of lands, from that time, would have appeared at least \$30,000,000 in 1850, instead of seventeen and a quarter millions, counting from the already partially advanced improvement, and enhanced values of 1838. However, even if these, my deductions and estimates, go

* In a communication recently made to the State Agricultural Society of Virginia, on "Some of the Results of the Improvement of Lands, by Calcareous Manures, on Public Interests in Virginia, in the increase of Production, Population, General Wealth, and Revenue to the Treasury."

for nothing, there will still remain the proof, by official documents, of the actual increase of value of lands in twelve years, of seventeen and a quarter millions, or nearly one and a half millions yearly.

Now bear in mind that these are not the results of the improving of all the tide-water region, nor all of its much smaller arable portion; but, probably, of not more than one-twentieth of the cultivated land. All the remainder, if uncultivated, is stationary; and, if cultivated, is generally in a continued course of exhaustion; and the small quantity of enriched land had first to make up for all deficiencies of the impoverished, and lessening of production throughout the whole tide-water district, and after all such deductions, still exhibited a clear surplus of seventeen and a quarter millions of increased aggregate value. This is the result of but the beginning, and a very recent beginning of measures for improvement, executed in every case imperfectly, often injudiciously, and sometimes injuriously, and altogether on less than one-twentieth of the space on which calcareous manures are available. The great omitted space will hereafter be fertilized in the same manner. Then the actual increase of value of lands, founded on increased production, will be counted by hundreds of millions of dollars. And this anticipated enormous amount of fertility and capital to be created, might have been now in possession, if our improvements by calcareous manures had been begun thirty years earlier, instead of there having been continued, through all that time, the progress of wasting and destroying the remaining powers of the soil. South Carolina began exhausting culture much later, and is now full fifty years less advanced towards the lowest depth of that full descent which we had nearly completed. If that future of fifty years of continued exhaustion could be now cut off, and the improvement of Lower South Carolina by calcareous manures could be at once begun and continued, the loss of at least one hundred millions of dollars of now remaining value would be saved, and a gain of three hundred millions from improvement would be reached sooner by the same fifty years. This would be better, by all this great value, than even the following out precisely the first sinking and now rising course of Lower Virginia. In that region, the cultivators waited until the fertility of the land had so nearly expired, that it was supposed to

be in *articulo mortis*—at the last gasp—before the work of resuscitation was begun.

The comparative results of the opposite systems of improving and exhausting cultivation may be thus illustrated: Suppose a certain investment of capital will yield twenty per cent. of present annual interest, or net products, and two persons invest equal amounts in the business. The more provident one draws or spends but fifteen per cent. annually of his income, and leaves the remaining five per cent. to accumulate, and to be added to his interest-bearing capital. The other proprietor draws each year, and spends all of the certain and annual average returns of his capital, and five per cent. more of the capital stock itself. He reasons (may I say it?) like many cotton planters, and infers that so small a deduction from his capital will do no harm, as he will have so much the more of quick returns for immediate use or re-investment. In less than twenty years, one of these individuals will have doubled his original capital, and also his twenty per cent. income, and the other will have exhausted his entire fund.

But it may be said, (as alleged in regard to the squanderers of fertility,) that as the latter person had received so much more of annual returns, at first, he might have re-invested, and thus have retained his over-draughts of annual products. If a planter—and, of course, his over-draughts had been from the fertility of his land—he might have bought another plantation, to work and to wear out in like manner. But even if so, wherein would be the gain? He would have had the disadvantages of a change of investment, of removal, and making a new settlement. But where one man would so save and re-invest his over-draughts from his capital, two others would use, or perhaps spend theirs, as if so much actual clear profit, or permanent income. When the land is utterly worn out, and the total capital of fertility wasted, (or the small remnant is incapable of paying the expense of further cultivation,) it will most generally be found that the channels into which the early full streams of income flowed, are then as dry as the sources.

I do not mean that it necessarily follows that the planter who exhausts his land, also lessens his general wealth. Would that it were so! For, then, such certain and immediate retribution would

speedily stop the whole course of wrongdoing, and prevent all the consequent evils. It may be rarely, and it might be never the case, that the exhauster of land becomes absolutely poorer during the operation. He will have helped to impoverish his country, and to ruin it finally, (by the same general policy being continued,)—he will have destroyed as much of God's bounties as the wasted fertility, if remaining, would have supplied for ever, and as many human beings as those supplies would have supported, will be prevented from existing. And yet the mighty destroyer may have increased his own wealth. Nevertheless, he does not escape his own, and even the largest share of the general loss he has caused. While thus destroying, say \$20,000 worth of fertility, the planter, by the exercise of industry, economy and talent in other departments of his business, or from other resources, may have grown richer, by \$10,000. But if, as I believe is always true, it is as cheap and profitable to save as to waste fertility in the whole term of culture, then the planter in this case might have gained in all \$30,000 of capital, if he had saved, instead of wasting, the original productive power of his land.

Even if admitting the common fallacy which prevails in every newly-settled country, that it is profitable to each individual cultivator to wear out his land, still, by his doing so, and all his fellow-proprietors doing the like, while each one might be adding to his individual wealth, the joint labors of all would be exhausting the common stock of wealth, and greatly impairing the common welfare and interest of all. The average life of a man is long enough to reduce the fertility of his cultivated land to one-half, or less. Thus, one generation of exhausting cultivators, if working together, would reduce their country to one-half of its former production, and, in proportion, would be reduced the general income, wealth, and means of living—population and the products of taxation—and, in time, would as much decline the measure of moral, intellectual, and social advantages, the political power and military strength of the commonwealth. The destructive operations of the exhausting cultivator have a most important influence far beyond his own lands and his own personal interests. He reduces the wealth and population of his country and the world, and obstructs the progress and benefits of education, the

social virtues, and even moral and religious culture. For, upon the productions of the earth depend, more or less, the measure to be obtained, by the people of any country, of these and all other blessings which a community can enjoy. There is, however, one very numerous class of exceptions to this general rule—which is, when an agricultural people, or interest, is tributary to some other people or interest, whether foreign or at home. Such exceptions are presented in different modes: by the agriculture of Cuba being tributary to Spain—of many other countries to their own despotic and oppressive home governments—and of the Southern States of this confederacy, to greater or less extent, to different pauper and plundering interests of the northern states, which, through legislative enactments, have been mainly fostered and supported by levying tribute upon southern agriculture and industry.

The reason why such woful results of impoverishment of lands, as have been stated, are not seen to follow the causes, and speedily, is, that the causes are not all in action at once, and in equal progress. The labors of exhausting culture, also, are necessarily suspended as each of the cultivator's fields is successively worn out. And when tillage so ceases, and any space is thus left at rest, Nature immediately goes to work to recruit and replace as much as possible of the wasted fertility—until another destroyer, after many years, shall return, again to waste, and in much shorter time than before, the smaller stock of fertility so renewed. Thus, the whole territory, so scourged, is not destroyed at one operation. But though these changes and partial recoveries are continually, to some extent, counteracting the labors for destruction, still the latter work is in general progress. It may require, (as it did in my native region,) more than two hundred years, from the first settlement, to reach the lowest degradation. But that final result is not the less certainly to be produced by the continued action of the causes. I have witnessed, at home, nearly the last stage of decline. But I have also witnessed, subsequently, and over large spaces, more than the complete resuscitation of the land, and great improvement in almost every respect, not only to individual but to public interests; not only in regard to fertility and wealth, but also in mental, moral and social improvement.

Inasmuch as my remarks would seem to ascribe the most exhausting system of cultivation especially to the slave-holding states, the enemies of the institution of slavery might cite my opinions, if without the explanation which will now be offered, as indicating that slave-labor and exhausting tillage were necessarily connected as cause and effect. I readily admit that our slave-labor has served greatly to facilitate our exhausting cultivation; but only because it is a great facility—far superior to any found in the non-slave-holding states—for all agricultural operations. Of course, if our operations are exhausting of fertility, then certainly our command of cheaper and more abundant labor enables us to do the work of exhaustion, as well as all other work, more rapidly and effectually. But if directed to improving, instead of destroying fertility, then this great and valuable aid of slave-labor will as much more advance improvement, as it has generally heretofore advanced exhaustion. The enunciation of this proposition is perhaps enough. But if any, from prejudice, should deny or doubt its truth, they may see the practical proofs on all the most improved and profitable farms of Lower and Middle Virginia. On the lands of our best improvers and farmers, such as Richard Sampson, Hill Carter, John A. Selden, William B. Harrison, Willoughby Newton, and many others, slave-labor is used not only exclusively, and in larger than usual proportion, (because more required on very productive land,) but is deemed indispensable to the greatest profits, and operating to produce more increase of fertility, and more agricultural profit than can be exhibited from any purely agricultural labors and capital north of Mason and Dixon's line.

There is another and stronger reason for the greater exhausting effects of southern agriculture, and therefore of tillage by slave-labor. The great crops of all the slave-holding states, and especially of the more southern—corn, tobacco and cotton—are all tilled crops. The frequent turning and loosening of the earth by the plow and hoe—and far more when continued without intermission, year after year—advance the decomposition and waste all organic matter, and expose the soil of all but the most level surfaces, to destructive washing by rains—and rains the more heavy and destructive in power, in proportion as approaching the south. The

northern farmer is guarded from the worst of these results, not because he uses free-labor, but because his labor is so scarce and dear that he uses as little as possible for his purposes. Besides this consideration, his climate is more suitable to grass than to grain, and his other large crops are much more generally broad-cast than tilled. These are sufficient causes why, in general, the culture of land in the northern states should be less exhausting than in the southern, without detracting anything from the superior advantages which we of the South enjoy in the use of African slave-labor.

At the risk of uttering what may be deemed trite or superfluous to many of those who now honor me by their attention, I beg leave to state concisely the fundamental laws, as I conceive them to be, of supply and exhaustion of fertilizing matters to soils, and aliment to plants.

All vegetable growth is supported, for a small part, by the alimentary principles in the soil, (or by what we understand as its fertility,)—and partly, and for much the larger portion, by matters supplied, either directly or indirectly, from the atmosphere. More than nine-tenths usually of the substance of every plant is composed of the same four elements, three of which, oxygen, nitrogen and carbon, compose the whole atmosphere. The fourth, hydrogen, is one of the constituent parts of water; and also, as a part of the dissolved water, hydrogen is always present in the atmosphere, and in great quantity. Thus all these principal elements of plants are superabundant, and always surrounding every growing plant; and from the atmosphere, (or through the water in the soil,) very much the larger portion of these joint supplies is furnished to plants; and so it is of each particular element, except nitrogen, much the smallest ingredient, and yet the richest and most important of all organic manuring substances, and of all plants. This, for the greater part, if not for all of its small share in plants, it seems, is not generally derived, even partially, from the air, though so abundant therein, but from the soil or from organic manures given to the soil.

But, though bountiful nature has offered these chief alimentary principles and ingredients of vegetable growth in as inexhaustible profusion as the atmosphere itself which they compose, still their availability and beneficial use for plants are limited in some measure to man's

labors and care to secure their benefits. Thus, for illustration, suppose the natural supplies of food for plants, furnished by the atmosphere, to be three-fourths of all received, and that one-fourth only of the growth of any crop is derived from the soil and its fertility. Still, a strict proportion between the amount of supplies from these two different sources does not the less exist. If the cultivator's land, at one time, from its natural or acquired fertility, affords to the growing crop alimentary principles of value to be designated as five, there will be added thereto other alimentary parts, equal to fifteen in value, from the atmosphere. The crop will be made up of, and will contain, the whole twenty parts; of which five only were derived from, and served to reduce, by so much, the fertility of the soil. These proportions are stated merely for illustration, and, of course, are inaccurate. But the theory or principle is correct; and the law of fertilization and exhaustion, thence deduced, is as certainly sound.

Then, upon these premises, there is taken from the land, for the support of the crop, but one-fourth of the aliment derived from all sources for that purpose. And, if no other causes of destruction of fertility were in operation, one green or manuring crop (wholly given to the land and wholly used as manure) would supply to the field as much of alimentary or fertilizing matter, as would be drawn thence by three other crops removed for consumption or sale. But in practice there are usually at work important agencies for destruction of fertility, besides the mere supply of aliment to growing crops. Such agencies are the washing off of soluble parts, and even the soil itself, by heavy rains—the hastening of decomposition and waste of organic matter by frequent tillage processes, and changes of exposure—and plowing or other working of land when too wet, either from rain or want of drainage. Also, a cover of weeds left to rot on the surface, or any crop plowed under, green or dry, as manure, is subject to more or less waste of its alimentary principles, in the course of the ensuing decomposition. Therefore it is nearer the facts that two years' crops, or culture, for market or removal, would require one year's growth of some manuring crop to replace, and to maintain undiminished, or increasing, the productive power of the field. The poorest and also the

cheapest of such manuring crops will be the natural or "volunteer" growth of weeds on lands left uncultivated, and not grazed; and the best of all will be furnished in the whole product of a broadcast sown and entire crop of your own most fertilizing and valuable field peas.

Thus, of each manuring crop, (as of all others,) or of the fertilizing matter thus given to the land, the cultivator has contributed but five parts from the land, or its previous manuring, and the atmosphere has supplied fifteen parts. If, then, the cultivator, by still more increasing his own contributions, will give ten parts of alimentary matter to the land and crop, there will be added thereto from the atmosphere in the same three-fold proportion, or thirty parts, and the whole new productive power will be equal to forty. And if the soil is fitted by its natural constitution, or the artificial change induced by calcareous applications, to fix and retain this double supply of organic matter, the land will not only be made, but will remain, of as much increased fertility, under the subsequent like course of receiving one year's product for manure, for every two other crops removed. But, on the other hand, if more exhausting culture had been allowed, instead of either increased or maintained production—or if the crops take away more organic matter than nature's three-fold contributions will replace—then a downward progress must begin, and will proceed, whether slowly or quickly, to extreme poverty of the land, its profitless cultivation, and final abandonment. In this, the more usual case, the cultivator's contributions of aliment, (obtained from the soil,) are reduced from the former value, designated as five, first to four, and next successively to three, two, and finally less than one; and nature keeps equal pace in reducing her proportional supplies, from fifteen, first to twelve, and so on to nine and six, and less than three parts. So the strongest inducement is offered to enrich, rather than exhaust the soil. For whatever amount of fertility the cultivator shall bestow, or whatever abstraction from a previous rate of supply he shall make, either the gain or the loss will be tripled in the account of supplies from the atmosphere, furnished or withheld by nature.

In another and more practical point of view, the loss incurred by exhausting culture may be plainly exhibited. According to my views, (elsewhere fully

stated,*) soils supposed to be properly constituted as to mineral ingredients, do not demand, for the maintaining and increasing of their rate of production, more than the resting or the growth of two years in every five, mainly to be left on the land as manure. These are the proportions of the five-field rotation, now extensively used on the most improving parts of Virginia. And one of these two years the field is grazed, so that parts of its growth of grass is consumed, instead of all remaining on the field for manure. To meet the same demands, the more southern planter might leave his field to be covered by its growth of weeds (or natural grasses) one year, (and also to be grazed,) and a broad-cast crop of peas to be plowed under in another, for every three crops of grain and cotton. But the ready answer to this, (and I have heard it many times,) is, "What! lose two crops in every five years? I cannot afford to lose even one." It may be that the planter is so diligent and careful in collecting materials for prepared manure, that he can extend a thin and poor application, and in the drills only, over nearly half his cotton field; and perhaps he persuades himself that this application will obviate the necessity for rest and manuring crops to the land. The result will not fulfil this expectation. But even if it could, the manuring thus given directly by the labor of the planter is more costly than if he would allow time and opportunity for nature to help to manure for him—whether alone, or still better if aided by preparing for and sowing the native pea, to the production of which your climate is so eminently favorable. All the accumulations of leaves raked from the poor pine forest, with the slight additional value which may be derived from the otherwise profitless maintenance of poor cattle, will supply less of food to plants, and at greater cost, than would be furnished by an unmixed growth of peas, all left to serve as manure.

The native or southern pea, (as it ought to be called,) of such general and extensive culture in this and other southern states, is the most valuable for manuring crops, and also offers peculiar and great

advantages as a rotation crop. The seeds (in common with other peas and beans) are more nutritious as food, for man and beast, than any of the cereal grains. The other parts of the plant furnish the best and most palatable provender for beasts. The crop may be so well made, in your climate, as a secondary growth under corn, that it is never allowed to be a primary crop, or to have entire possession of the land. It will grow well broad-cast, and either in that way, and still better if tilled, is an admirable and cleansing growth. It is even better than clover as a preparing and manuring crop for wheat. In one or other of the various modes in which the pea-crop may be produced, it may be made to suit well in a rotation with any other crops. Though for a long time I had believed in some of the great advantages of the pea-crop, and had even commenced its culture as a manuring crop, and on a large scale, it was not until I afterwards saw the culture, growth, and uses, in South Carolina, that I learned to estimate its value properly, and perhaps more fully than is done by any who, in this state, avail themselves so largely of some of its benefits. Since, I have made this crop a most important member of my rotation; and its culture, as a manuring crop, has now become general in my neighborhood, and is rapidly extending to more distant places. If all the advantages offered by this crop were fully appreciated and availed of, the possession of this plant in your climate would be one of the greatest agricultural blessings of this and the more southern states. For my individual share of this benefit, stinted as it is by our colder climate, I estimate it as adding, at least, one thousand bushels of wheat annually to my crop.

From this digression to a particular branch, I will now return to the general subject of the neglect of rest and manuring crops for land.

The incessant cultivator does not the less rest, and lose the use of his land, by refusing any cessation of tillage so long as he can avoid it. If such cultivators manure so abundantly that there is no general decline of production, then they do not come under my past remarks and censure. If there be any such, I will only say of their mode of maintaining fertility, that it is less effectual and more costly, than if aided, and substituted in part by manuring crops, and a judicious rotation of crops. But as to many other

* In a recent communication to the Virginia State Agricultural Society, entitled "New Views of the Theory and Laws of Rotation of Crops, and their Practical Application." These views I deem especially applicable to the agricultural condition of South Carolina, and of importance next to the main subject of the present address.

planters, who, whether slowly or rapidly, are certainly impoverishing their lands, they will, at some future period, be compelled to allow a greater proportion of time for the land to rest, and to greater disadvantage, and less profit, than if allowing regularly either one year in three, or two in five. Suppose the land to yield cotton (or sometimes corn) continuously for thirty, or even forty years—or, with much manuring, sixty. In such cases, it is true, there were as many crops obtained as the land was kept years for tillage. But after the first few years, the products were declining; and for the last five or ten years, on the general average, they scarcely paid more than the expenses of cultivation. The crops also suffered during the whole time the evils of a want of rotation, and the land of want of change of condition. At the close, the land *must* be turned out to rest, because manifestly not worth longer cropping. This compelled cessation and rest will continue for twenty, thirty, or forty years, when the land will be again cleared of its second (or perhaps its third) growth of trees; and, with this and other extra labors, will be again brought under continued tillage, to be again, and much more speedily, exhausted of its smaller recovered amount of productive power. In this manner, though at long intervals, more than the full proportion of rest, required by an improving system of rotation, is given to the land, and enforced by its exhaustion; and the manner is such as to make the least return of benefit for the greatest expense incurred or the respite of the land from cultivation.

My former engagements in South Carolina, and the then especial objects of my investigations and labors, served to make me better acquainted with a large portion of your territory than any other as extensive elsewhere. From that acquaintance was derived the opinion, which I have since asserted and still maintain, that no other as extensive region, known to me, possesses half as great advantages and resources for agricultural improvement, or more needs the employment of these means. The proper and full use of your wonderfully abundant, rich, and easily accessible marl, and the recent shells and other marine remains, offer the best principal and indispensable means for fertilization, and which are available for half your territory. Another great resource, and almost as much neglected, is presented in your great inland swamps,

now only wide-spread seed-beds of disease, pestilence, and death; and which, by drainage, with certainty and great profit, might be converted to dry fields of exuberant fertility. It is true that existing legal obstacles oppose these extensive plans for drainage; but these difficulties might be removed by wise legislation, with great benefit to the interests of all concerned—and improvements might be permitted and invited which would render these now worthless and pestilential swamps as fruitful as the celebrated borders of the Po.

The draining of the inland swamps of rich alluvial soil, together with the general application of marl to these and also to the now cultivated higher ground, would go far to remove the long prevailing unhealthiness to which Lower South Carolina is subject, and which is the only important evil which is not entirely in the power of the inhabitants to remedy. I will not presume to say how far this great evil may be lessened by these works of industry and improvement. But, when so much of your country consists of low and wet swamp, and of partially wet higher lands, and all easy to be drained, it does not seem over-sanguine to suppose that, with such drainage and the general extension of the also sanitary operations of marling and liming, the country would be as much improved in healthiness as in fertility. Such change to greater healthiness has been most marked in my own country in the extensively marled neighborhoods, even where there has been no considerable draining operations executed or required. This improvement of health is ascribed, by all who have experienced the beneficial change, mainly to the sanitary influences of the now calcareous soil.

Your extensive and rich river swamp lands offer another great object for improvement, and increase of agricultural profit and wealth. Even the sandy "pine barrens," now unfit for tillage or for any useful production other than the magnificent pine forests which cover them, if made calcareous and put under Bermuda grass, (the curse of tillage lands so infested,) would be made as valuable land for pasturage as the equally barren chalk downs of England.

Your high lands are mostly level, or of gently undulating surface, and easy to till, and the soils generally well suited to your great staple crops, corn and cotton. The navigable rivers which per-

vade Lower South Carolina, in their number and character, present a remarkable geographical feature, as singular as it is valuable. The main canals required for extensive drainage of the inland swamps would be so many additions to the existing navigable highways. So low are the intervening swamp lands, that nearly all the deep navigable rivers might be connected by canals of level or nearly level water; and in that respect Lower South Carolina might possess the peculiar facilities of Holland for extensive inland navigation. These connecting canals, by diverting some of the superfluous supply of fresh water of some rivers, to others where it is deficient, might perhaps serve to extend greatly the present area of tide-covered land capable of being flooded for rice culture. If such canals, mainly for drainage, but serving also for navigation, were made to connect the Edisto with the Ashley, the Cooper and the Santee, there would be another incidental advantage as remarkable as it would be valuable. The excavation of the canals through the great swamps, (and certainly between those stretching from the Ashley nearly to the Santee,) would generally penetrate into marl of the richest quality, lying a few feet below the surface of the swamps. If duly appreciated, this rich calcareous earth, to be used as manure, would go far to reimburse the cost of the excavation; and if used for lime-burning, would furnish good lime, and at one-third of the price of that for which South Carolina has paid and continues to pay millions of dollars to the lime-burners of New England. This voluntary tribute, at least, which is one of so many unnecessarily paid by the South to the North, might be ended to the immediate and great profit of both the sellers and the buyers of the substituted lime, made of the abundant, cheap and excellent native material. The buying of northern lime by South Carolina and Georgia, is as unprofitable and as absurd a procedure as the usage of importing northern hay. But of these, and of many similar things, we of the South have no right to blame any but ourselves. All the commodities which we import from the northern states, and which might be more cheaply provided at home, serve indeed to make up an enormous amount of annual tribute. But this part of our general burden is fairly and properly levied by northern

enterprise and industry upon southern listlessness and indolence. Very different, however, is the case as to the far greater proportion of the general amount of tribute paid by southern to northern interests—from which we have no defence, because government induces and enforces the payment, by the legislative machinery of protecting duties and the indirect bounty system. But I am straying from my designed subject, the improvement of southern agriculture to its governmental and political oppression.

Putting aside all speculative and untried subjects and modes of improvement, and counting upon nothing more than the proper use of your calcareous manures and judicious tillage, and the early results of both—and supposing that your country should be so benefited only in the same degree as has been the small portion of mine, already marled or limed—the most moderate estimate of the agricultural values so to be created would now appear to you so greatly exaggerated as to be altogether incredible. But however much I would desire to avoid the position of a discredited witness, I will not be restrained by that fear from stating general results, which are notorious in Virginia, and to sustain the truth of which, thousands of particular facts could be adduced. These results, susceptible of clear proof, or exhibited by official documents, are, that thousands of farms have been doubled or tripled, and some quadrupled in production, and the general wealth of their proprietors as much increased—the assessed values of marled lands increased by many millions of dollars, while those of similar lands, not so treated, have continued to decline as all did before; and the treasury of the commonwealth is already benefited by many thousands of dollars received annually from the counties containing these improved lands, and derived from them, while the revenue from lands of the neighboring and before similar counties, is still decreasing.

So far, I have spoken as to benefits which have already occurred, and which are unquestionable, and which have been derived from resources and facilities for improvement, not to be compared, in amount and value, with those of South Carolina. I have elsewhere estimated the possible future and full fruition of this system of improvement, in Lower Virginia only, at five hundred millions of dollars of increased pecuniary value of

capital thereby to be created. The full employment of your much greater resources of this kind, and over as wide a surface, would not be worth less. Then your other great resources, which have been named but not estimated, would be so much more in addition.

But agricultural production and pecuniary values are not the only or the greatest gains; and though others rest upon opinion only, and are incapable of being measured, their existence and their value are not the less acknowledged by all judicious observers in our country, most improved in agricultural production by calcareous manures. The improvement of health has been mentioned; the improvement of economical and social habits, morals and refinement, and better education for the growing generation, have been sure consequences of greatly increased and enduring agricultural profits; and these moral results will hereafter be increased in full proportion to the physical and industrial producing causes. Population, though a later effect, is already sensibly advanced by these agricultural causes. The strength, physical, intellectual and moral, as well as the wealth and revenue of the commonwealth of Virginia, will soon derive new and great increase from the growing improvement of that one and smallest of the great divisions of her territory, which was the poorest by natural constitution—still more the poorest by long exhausting tillage—its best population gone, or going away, and the remaining portion sinking into apathy and degradation, and having no hope left, except that which was almost universally entertained of fleeing from the ruined country, and renewing the like work of destruction on the fertile lands of the far west. Terms of reproach and contempt (once not undeserved) have been so long and so freely bestowed on this tide-water region of Virginia, and had become so fixed by use, that it will be long before they will cease to be deemed applicable; or before many persons, who now know this region only by the memory of former report, will learn that it is not altogether land of galled and gullied slopes, or broomsedge-covered fields, over whose impoverished and dwindling population, indolence and malarious disease contend for mastery.

From these matters, referred to for proof or illustration, I return to my main subject, more immediately connected with, and more likely to be interesting to my auditors.

There is not one of the industrial classes of mankind more estimable for private worth and social virtue than the landholders and cultivators of the southern states. With them, unbounded hospitality is so universal, that it is not a distinguishing virtue—and, in truth, this virtue has been carried to such excess as to become of vicious tendency. Honorable, high-minded, kindly in feeling and action, both to neighbors and to strangers—ready to sacrifice self-interest for the public weal—such are ordinary qualities and characteristics of southern planters. Many of the most intelligent men of this generally intelligent class, are ready enough to accept and to apply to themselves and their fellow-planters the name of “land-killers.” But while thus admitting, or even assuming this term of jocosé reproach, they have not deemed as censurable or injurious, their conduct on which this reproach was predicated. They have regarded their “land-killing” policy and practice merely as affecting their own personal and individual interests—and, if judged by their continued action, they must believe that their interests are thereby best promoted. Their error in regard to their own interests, great as it may be, is incomparably less than the mistake as to other and general interests not being thus affected. As I have already admitted, individuals may acquire wealth by this system of impoverishing culture, though the amount of accumulation is still much abated by the attendant waste of fertility. But with the impoverishment of its soil, a country, a people, must necessarily and equally be impoverished. Individual planters may desert the fields they have exhausted in South Carolina, and find new and fertile lands to exhaust in Alabama. And when the like work of waste and desolation is completed in Alabama, the spoilers (whether with or without retaining a portion of the spoils) may still proceed to Texas or to California. But South Carolina and Alabama must, nevertheless, suffer and pay the full penalty of all the impoverishment so produced. The people, who remain to constitute these states respectively, as communities, are not spared one tittle of the enormous evils produced—not only those of their own destructive labors, but of all the like and previous labors of their fellow-citizens and predecessors who had fled from the ruin which they had helped to produce. And these evils to the community and to posterity, greater than

could be effected by the most powerful and malignant foreign enemies of any country, are the regular and deliberate work of benevolent and intelligent men, of worthy citizens, and true lovers of their country!

I will not pursue this uninviting theme to its end—that lowest depression which surely awaits every country and people subjected to the effects of the “land-killing” policy. The actual extent of progress toward that end, throughout the southern states, ought to be sufficiently appalling to produce a thorough change of procedure and reformation of the agricultural system of the South.

In addition to all increase of the other benefits of agricultural improvement which have been cited—pecuniary, social, intellectual and moral—there would be an equal increase of political power, both at home and abroad, which at this and the near approaching time, would be especially important to the well-being and the defence of the southern states, and the preservation of their yet remaining rights, and always vital interests. If Virginia, South Carolina, and the other older slave-holding states had never been reduced in productiveness, but, on the contrary, had been improved according to their capacity, they would have retained nearly all the population that they have lost by emigration; and that retained population, with its increase, would have given them more than a doubled number of representatives in the Congress of the United States. This greater strength would have afforded abundant legislative safeguards against the plunderings and oppressions of tariffs to protect northern interests—compromises (so-called) to swell northern power—pension and boundary laws for the same purposes—and all such acts to the injury of the South, effected by the great legislative strength of the now more powerful, and to us the hostile and predatory states of the confederacy. Even after Virginia, with more than Esau-like fatuity, had sacrificed her magnificent northwestern territory, which now constitutes five great and fertile states, (and a surplus to make, by legislative fraud, a large part of a sixth state,) and all of which are now among the most hostile to the rights of the people of the South—if Virginia had merely retained and improved the fertility of her present reduced surface, her people would not have removed. Their descendants would now be south of the Ohio,

ready and able to maintain the rights of the southern states, instead of a large proportion, as now, serving to swell the numbers, and give efficient power to our most malignant enemies. The loss of both political and military strength to Virginia and South Carolina is not less than all other losses, the certain consequences of the impoverishment of their soil.*

If it were possible that, for all Lower South Carolina, the system of improvement could be directed by one mind and will, as much as the operations of any one great individual estate, the most magnificent results could be obtained, with great and certain profit, and in a few years. Without any additional labor or capital, more than now possessed, for beginning the improvement—and with only the subsequent increase of means which would be supplied by the clear profits of the improvements as they became productive—most of the lands accessible to marl or lime could be covered by these manures in ten years. In twenty years from this day, all such lands could be thus improved, and by that time might yield doubled or tripled general products, and would exhibit a proportionally greater increase of value as capital. The new clear profits of this one great improvement would be enough in amount to effect all the practicable drainage of inland and river swamps in twenty years more. Or, in that additional time, the increased revenue of the state treasury, from these new sources only, would suffice to construct all the great works of drainage which would be beyond the means of individual proprietors.

In all opinions expressed as to the values and effects of the agricultural improvements proposed for South Carolina, my data are the experienced and un-

*A condition made by the Government of Virginia, in the act of cession, to the United States, of all her northwestern territory, was, that this territory should afterwards be divided into not more than five new states. Five have already been carved out of this great domain: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, and a space of 22,336 square miles remains, in the new territory of Minnesota, which will hereafter constitute so much of another state, in violation of the act of cession by Virginia, and of the faith of the present Federal Government, and in which space, with all the northwestern territory, slavery was interdicted by the ordinance of 1787 of the Confederation. This space of 22,336 square miles, which ought to have been included in the five anti-slavery states already formed, but which will go to constitute a sixth, is nearly as large as South Carolina, and larger, by nearly 1,000 square miles, than the united surfaces of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut.

questionable results of like labors in Virginia. The legitimate deduction, and the only one for untried operations, is, that like causes will produce like effects in both these different localities. I cannot conceive any reason, founded on existing differences of climate, soil, or subjects of culture, that can make calcareous manures less efficient, or less profitable, with you than with us. Nevertheless, I have learned from mere rumor, that in the small extension of their use, by new operators, which occurred here, there was no general and important benefit obtained. And such, I must infer, was the conclusion reached by nearly all the makers and observers of these trials, from the irresistible, though negative evidence, (which only is before me,) that nothing considerable of such improvements, or of public notoriety, has been effected in latter years. In the absence of all particular information of the actual trials, their results, and the accompanying circumstances, of course I cannot pretend, or be expected, to explain the causes of disappointment, which must be the general result, as it seems that marling has languished, if not ceased, in general, after a few faint efforts.* But I infer that the main and usual cause of supposed failure, or of inconsiderable benefit, has been the same prevailing bad practice, before denounced, of incessant, or at least much too frequent tillage, which does not permit the fields to receive and retain organic matter from their own growths especially. This cause had operated on nearly all the trials of marl made previous to my service in South Carolina. Of all such cases of alleged failure that I was enabled to see and investigate the circumstances, the causes were such as I now suppose of the still later failures. These cases of failure and of disappointment, and the known causes, were brought fully to view in my Report of the Agricultural Survey; and from the more extended remarks, I will quote a short passage, to show my then opinion of the facts, and the causes of previous failures, and my earnest warning against the general course pursued. After reciting the general facts of failure of the previous trials of marling, I proceeded in these words:

* There is, however, one important case, known to me, of at least partial exception to the general rule of failure of marling in South Carolina, in the very extensive and also profitable labors and improvements of Gov. Hammond, on his estate bordering on the Savannah.

"Can any opponents of marling desire more full admissions than these? And yet they all serve to illustrate what I have continually striven to impress, that *without vegetable matter to combine with, calcareous manures will be of little value.* But, on the other hand, I have heard of no trial of marl on land in proper condition, that is, recently and sufficiently rested, and thereby provided with vegetable matter, in which the effect has not been very great on the first crop. And three or four of such results, only, would be enough to explain the cause, [of failure in all other cases,] and to prevent all inferences unfavorable to marling, if from a hundred failures of early efforts under reverse circumstances." Then followed particular statements of two different experiments, carefully made that year, (and the circumstances noted at my request,) of marling on new land, and therefore not exhausted of its vegetable matter, and in which the products (which were of cotton) were nearly doubled in the first year of the application.

Here then, even in the few lines quoted from the much more full precepts to the same purport, there is full evidence of my having stated, in advance of all later trials, the sure cause of failure; and in the warning against that cause, I may claim to have predicted all later failures of like occurrence. And if there had been thousands of failures, preceded and accompanied by very frequent and exhausting tillage, all of them would but the more strongly confirm my long entertained and often expressed opinions and instructions as to the action of calcareous manures; and all such cases would not detract a little from the alleged available values. When urging the use of lime, I have never omitted to state that it gave no fertility of itself, or by direct action; and that vegetable matter in sufficient quantity, and in conjunction, was essential to the beneficial operation of calcareous manures. The required organic matter may be supplied mainly in the growth of the land to be improved. But it *must* be supplied in some form, and in sufficient quantity—and also should be, in part, present in advance of the use of calcareous manures, to secure their best early effects.

Planters of South Carolina!—I have offered to you in plain and unvarnished language, and, possibly, it may be in ungracious and distasteful terms, the last advice and admonition that I can expect

to utter to you, or to any similar audience. My burden of years, and infirmities much greater than even suited to my age, admonish me that my labors must soon close. I would deem it a reward of more value to me than will be the short remainder of my life, if you and your fellow-laborers, even at this late time, (in reference to myself,) would heed my words, and fully profit by them. It is but little that a private individual can do, to warrant to a great commonwealth or community the beneficial results predicted upon stated premises and conditions. But so perfect is my confidence in the general results I have predicted, that I would willingly hazard upon the issue all that I have, in property, reputation, and even life itself. For illustration, and in mercantile or business language—if I possessed hundreds of millions of dollars, to that full amount, for a premium of 10 per cent, I would insure as much clear profit to South Carolina, to be gained by conforming to my directions, for saving and increasing the fertility of her soil. As, however, it is impossible for me to offer any such guaranty, and for me either to incur risk of loss,

or to derive pecuniary gain from the results, I can only offer my earnest verbal assurances of your available gain, as great and as sure to be obtained by your pursuing a proper course of improvement, as will be the growing loss and eventual ruin of your country, and humiliation of its people, if the long existing system of exhausting culture is not abandoned. It is not merely my feeble voice and my questionable personal testimony, but also thousands of unquestionable facts, and the sure experience and realized profits of thousands of farmers, which offer to your acceptance the highest agricultural prosperity, in exchange for present decline, and approaching exhaustion of the remaining fertility of your land. Choose, and choose quickly! And remember, as my last warning, that your decision will be between your purchasing, at equal rates of price, either wealth, and general prosperity, of value exceeding all present power of computation, or ruin, destitution, and the lowest degradation to which the country of a free and noble-minded people can possibly be subjected.

ART. V.—EARLY LIFE IN THE SOUTHWEST.

No. II.

COL. ELLIS P. BEAN, OR FIFTY YEARS AGO IN TEXAS.

[In one of our late Nos. we gave a sketch of the remarkable family of the Howies of Louisiana and Texas. That paper has suggested to a gentleman of Texas, the descendant of an early settler, a series of historical and biographical sketches, relating to the Southwest, which he has kindly promised for our pages. The following is the first of the series:]

Many persons have heard of Bean's Station, in Tennessee. Of the family from which that place derived its name, was one whose name heads this article. In the year 1800, when eighteen years of age, seized with a spirit of adventure, common to the young spirits in that day in the west, which was opposed by his parents, young Bean clandestinely left his father's roof, and passed down the Mississippi in a flatboat. At Natchez his employer died, and he was thrown out of employment, penniless, and among strangers. Thus situated, he was left to reflect upon his condition, and work out his own fortune. Too proud to return home, he resolved to embark in whatever might fall in his way.

At that day there was an occasional

contraband trade carried on by means of pack-mules, in caravans, from Natchez, with the Spanish towns of San Antonio, and places on the Rio Grande, attended with great peril, of course, from the numerous Indian tribes inhabiting the vast wilds between the points named, as well as from the vigilance of the Spanish soldiery, ever on the alert to seize all such parties and obtain their merchandise. Most distinguished among these bold traffickers was one Noland. He was about to leave Natchez at this time, (then the spring of 1801,) and young Bean, by some accident, made his acquaintance, and eagerly joined his expedition.

Noland's party consisted of twenty-two men, with a considerable amount of

goods. They advanced into Texas, and reached a point between the Trinity and Brazos rivers, where they were discovered, and attacked by a body of Spanish troops. Noland occupied a very good position, and made a desperate defence, but was overpowered, thirteen of the party being killed, including Noland himself, and the remaining nine, including Bean, being made prisoners.

The prisoners were hurried forward to San Antonio, and there imprisoned for several months. Thence they were sent, under a guard, through Monclova to Chihuahua, and there imprisoned and chained. Here they were kept in close confinement three years, when they were allowed the privilege of the city limits, and to labor on their own account. Some of them, however, had died in the mean time, and others had been sent to other places, and were never afterwards heard of. Bean had learned the hatting business in Tennessee, and followed it profitably perhaps a year in Chihuahua, when the yearning he had to see his native land, after near six years' absence, induced him, with his two remaining comrades, to run away, and endeavor to reach the United States. But they were arrested near El Paso, taken back, severely chastised, and, after being heavily ironed, again imprisoned. Bean, however, had made many friends in Chihuahua, who, after several months, with strong promises on his part for good conduct in future, succeeded in procuring the liberty of the city for him as before. After following his old business for some time, however, he resolved upon another effort to see his native country, but was again overtaken and carried back.

He was now placed under a strong escort, and started for the south without the least intimation of his destination. In the route, he was transferred from one party of soldiers to another almost daily, and passed the cities of Guadalajara and Guanajuato. At the latter place, he was detained several days, during which time his noble and commanding person won upon the affections of some *senorita* so far as to prompt a letter to him, in which she avowed her love, and pledged every sacrifice to obtain his pardon and win his hand. But he was never allowed to see her.

Poor Bean was finally conveyed to Acapulco, one of the most sickly places on the Pacific, and thrown into a most filthy dungeon, where not a ray of light

penetrated, and the only air allowed him issued through the base of a stone wall, six feet thick. In this dismal abode, his person was constantly covered with filthy vermin, and no one allowed to see him, except once a day, to give him a scanty allowance of food. His only companion was a white lizard, which he succeeded in taming, and making very fond of him. Even this, said he, was a source of much pleasure to his sinking spirit. The air-hole had to be closed at night to prevent the ingress of serpents, which were abundant at that place. On one occasion he omitted to close it, and in the night he was awakened by the movements of an enormous monster, that had found his way in, and was crawling over his body. His ready mind prompted him to lie perfectly still, until his prison door should open, when, espying the serpent's eyes, he dispatched him by a well-aimed stroke of his knife through the head. He then triumphantly threw the writhing monster out of his cell on to the market-floor adjoining, which so astonished the natives present, and excited their admiration and pity, that a petition was sent to the governor for a mitigation of his sufferings. That humane individual graciously decreed that thereafter he should be allowed to work, though in chains, with a party of miscreant soldiers during the day, and only imprisoned at night. Even this he found a happy relief.

But Bean was a worthy son of Tennessee, and could not subdue the noble spirit of his family and his countrymen that wrestled in his bosom—his heart yearned for liberty. So he sought an early occasion to knock off his chains, and with his crowbar killed three of his astonished guard, and escaped to the neighboring mountains. But here he was reduced to a skeleton by starvation, and re-captured. His old cell now became his only abode, aggravated by flogging and divers other indignities.

After another year he was again allowed the same privilege. But his bold spirit prompted a similar attempt for liberty, in the vain hope of reaching the United States. In this effort he killed seven soldiers, and, taking the route for Upper California, traveled some three hundred miles, when he was seized again, the news of his escape having preceded him, and again carried back. He was now subjected to every imaginable hardship and cruelty—confined in a

horizontal position, with stocks around his neck, so as to prevent a change of his posture, and there, for weeks, almost devoured by chinchas and other vermin. His appeals for mercy, by the populace, and even when addressed to a professed man of God, were treated with contemptuous mockery.

But after ten years of bondage, the day of his freedom was drawing nigh. The Mexican Revolution broke out in 1810, and raged with great fury, threatening the overthrow of royalty in Mexico. The royalists had become alarmed; they had learned to look upon Bean as a chained lion—a redoubtable hero—and now, in the hour of their troubles, they offered him liberty on condition that he would join their standard. This he readily promised; but with a mental reservation that he should desert their hated standard on the first possible occasion, and join the patriots.

Within a few days he was sent on a scout with seven men, to reconnoitre the position of Gen. Morelos, the patriot chief. When near the encampment of that officer, Bean addressed his companions on liberty in general, and proposed they should join the patriots. All acquiesced, and did so. Reporting himself at once to Morelos, he gave him minute information as to the position of the royalists—an attack was at once planned, and carried out with triumphant success, Bean having received a captain's commission in advance. For his reckless daring in the action, he was crowned with roses, proclaimed a colonel on the same day, and placed at the head of five hundred men.

From that day forward, his name and deeds spread like wildfire through Mexico, and was everywhere received with veneration by the down-trodden multitudes. For three years he was the chief reliance of the veteran Morelos, in the desperate struggle that succeeded, with varied success—wherever he fought victory followed.

He had learned in Tennessee how to make gunpowder. This knowledge proved to be of immense advantage to the patriots. He was soon conducted, amid flying banners and deafening shouts, a conqueror into Acapulco, the scene of his sufferings. The puissant wretches, who had been his persecutors, on bended knees now begged for mercy. The veritable man of God who had mocked his sufferings, now supinely crouched at his

feet. But the loosed lion scorned to avenge his wrongs on the pusillanimous suppliants, and dismissed them with warnings for their future conduct.

At the close of about three years, from the havoc made among the royalists by Morelos and Bean, an overwhelming force had been thrown into that portion of the country, and the patriots met with sad reverses—such as to change their plan of operations. It was agreed that Bean should cross the country to the Gulf of Mexico, and endeavor to reach New-Orleans by water, with the view of appealing to the United States for aid. With two companions, (both seamen,) he made his way across the country. On the route he became suddenly attached to a lady, near Jalapa, and married her, with a pledge that whenever duty permitted he would return, and spend his days with her. Arriving at the town of Soto la Marina, he stole a sloop in the night from the harbor, and put to sea. A few days wafted them safely to New-Orleans, where they arrived about ten days before the great battle of the 8th of January, after Bean had been absent from his country fourteen years. This was the first information he had ever received from the United States, and hence the first intimation he had of the war between our country and Great Britain.

Bean at once reported himself to Gen. Jackson, who had known him in boyhood, and in the battle fought as a volunteer aid to the old hero. Soon afterwards he returned to Mexico, with what success we know not, but returned to Tennessee for a short time in 1817, where he wrote out a detailed history of his singular career, and left it with one of his half brothers, by whose kindness we were allowed, several years ago, to read it several times, and, from memory, have sketched the foregoing account.

In conclusion, we have learned from other sources, that Bean was retained in Mexico as a colonel in the army, after her independence was established, and redeemed his pledge to the confiding lady he had married. In 1827, when the Fredonian war broke out at Nacogdoches, Texas, he was colonel commandant of the Mexican garrison there. In 1835 he returned to Mexico, and resumed his residence at Jalapa; and in 1843, the last we ever heard of him, he was a retired officer on half-pay, and, though sixty-one years of age, was in fine health.

ART. VI.—THE SPRINGS OF VIRGINIA.

[HAVING visited during the last summer these celebrated resorts of fashion and abodes of health, we gave in one of the numbers of the Review a brief notice of the trip, and promised at an early day an elaborate article upon the subject, which we have now the pleasure of furnishing. The people of the South would do well to sustain and cherish their own watering-places, and we know of none more deserving than those of the Old Dominion.]

There are rain, snow, hail, river, spring, well, lake and pond water, all distinguished from each other by peculiar differences. They all hold in solution air, carbonic acid, carbonate and muriate of lime. Distilled water is freed from these ingredients. Besides these, there are some springs which gush forth with water impregnated with foreign ingredients of particular properties, imparted to it by the channel in the earth through which it makes its course. Springs of this character are properly mineral springs. There are no mineral waters that have not foreign ingredients in them, although there are waters that are medicinal, without being mineral, as the waters of Matlock and Malvern; and there are waters that are mineral without being medicinal. Mineral springs are farther distinguished by the temperature of their waters.

Mineral waters are found in different parts of the United States and in Europe. Those of Virginia are remarkable for their medicinal virtues.

Singular as it may seem, there are considerably over thirty foreign ingredients in mineral water. Yet it is still more singular, that Boyle, in the 17th century, was the first to employ tests to detect their existence. The first experiment of this character was made in 1663.

The following are the principal foreign ingredients found, by the employment of tests, to exist in mineral water:

Atmospheric air, oxygen gas, nitrogen gas, carbonic acid, boracic acid, sulphureous acid, sulphuretted hydrogen, soda, lime, silica; the nitrates of potassa and of lime; the carbonates of potassa, soda, ammonia, lime, magnesia, alumina, iron; the sulphates of soda, of ammonia, of lime, of magnesia, of iron, of copper; the muriates of potassa, lime, soda, of ammonia, of baryta and alumina, of manganese; hydro-sulphuret of soda, hydro-sulphuret of lime.

The mineral, and, indeed, the medicinal springs of Virginia are the White Sulphur, the Blue Sulphur, the Red Sulphur, the Salt Sulphur, the Sweet

Springs, the Red Sweet Springs, the Warm Springs, the Hot Springs, the Bath Alum Springs, and the Rockbridge Alum Springs.

It is the opinion of Dr. Stringfellow, that "actual experience shows that virtue has been infused by the Almighty hand into the mineral waters of our state, (Virginia,) which, if skilfully used, and called into requisition in due time, would make them equal to the cure of perhaps every form of chronic suffering known among us."

There are two White Sulphur Springs in the State of Virginia—one of them is west, and the other east, of the Alleghany; one in Greenbrier and the other in Fauquier county.

The most celebrated is the one situated in Greenbrier county, not far distant from Greenbrier River, and but a few miles west of the mountains. Its character, for the medicinal virtue of its water, is well established. If mineral waters are ranged as stimulant, sedative and strengthening, the water of this spring may be classed among the first, although it possesses the qualities of the latter two in diminished strength. Its characteristic is stimulant. It is transparent, and, like champagne wine, is lively, from disengaged air escaping in bubbles when agitated. Its taste is foetid, or hepatized, from the impregnation of sulphuretted hydrogen gas. Its foreign matter is gas, gaseous and saline.

According to the analysis of Mr. Hayes—50,000 grains, (about 7 pints,) of this water, contain in solution 3,633 water grain measures of gaseous matter, or about 1-14 of its volume, consisting of

Nitrogen gas.....	1.013
Oxygen gas.....	0.108
Carbonic acid.....	2.444
Hydro-sulphuric acid.....	0.08

One gallon, or 231 cubic inches, of the water, contain 16.739 cubic inches of gas, having the proportion of

Nitrogen gas.....	4.080
Oxygen gas.....	0.498
Carbonic acid.....	11.290
Hydro-sulphuric acid.....	0.871
	<hr/> 16.739

50,000 grains of this water contain
115.735 grains of saline matter, consist-
ing of

Sulphate of lime.....	67.168
Sulphate of magnesia.....	30.364
Chloride of magnesium.....	0.830
Carbonate of lime.....	0.000
Organic matter (dried at 212° F.).....	3.740
Carbonic acid.....	4.584
Silicates (silica, 1.34; potash, 18; soda, 66; magnesia and a trace of oxyd. iron.....)	2.960
	<hr/> 115.735

Mr. Hayes thinks this water peculiar, from the fact that the chlorine and the alkaline bases are in small proportions, and the alkaline bases being united to the silicious earths "in combination with a peculiar organic matter." "The organic matter," he says, "resembles that found in the Red Sulphur Springs, and differs essentially from the organic matter of some thermal waters." The saline matter is thought to act not only upon the digestive apparatus most beneficially, but to be taken up by the absorbents and dispersed through the system.

The remark may be predicated of these springs, as of every other medicinal spring, that there is an exclusive order of diseases that they alone benefit, and some of that order more directly healthfully than others.

The process of cure, under the operation of mineral water, is a restoration of the normal, or first principles of the constitution. Hence they are never specific. They may be very certain to cure, but they never cure as specific agencies cure, by acting upon the disease. Mineral waters never act upon the disease, but under an indirect operation—the alterative action—the restoration of the normal condition. They act upon nature rather than upon disease. When they cure at all the cure is radical, and a relapse less frequent than when the cure is effected by specifics. They are the medicine of nature, and not a natural medicine. Medical science employs remedial agents taken from nature, but here nature employs her own agents. Hence the process of cure is longer and more radical.

"The White Sulphur water," says Dr. Burke, by whom an excellent work upon the Virginia Springs has been written, "owes its power over the secretory glands mainly to the sulphuretted hydrogen, while the admirable combination of active salts makes it a resolvent, and imparts to it an expulsive power over the

secretions. It is its richness in these salts that renders it superior in hepatic and other visceral diseases to the red sulphur, while these very ingredients forbid its use in organic diseases of the lungs, the heart, and the uterus."

The stimulant property of this water is due to the saline matter it contains. Hence it is to be recommended in all cases in which mental or sedentary habits have worked unhealthy effects upon the corporeal system. Most of the diseases that spring and grow from distressing mental pre-occupation—from laborious continuity of thought—yield to the medicinal efficacy of this water as a general rule. Its analysis indicates its medicinal efficacy in diseases of the liver, dyspepsia, when produced by over eating, diseases of the nerves, cutaneous affections, hysteria, rheumatism and gout, prostration from measles, small-pox, pneumonia, or from fevers of every class—chronic syphilis, &c., constipation, bilious diarrhea, &c., &c.

The White Sulphur of Greenbrier is the resort of the fashionable and the gay as well as of the invalid.

The beauty that is weary of the accustomed home adoration, visits the springs to obtain the excitement of new homage. The widower and the widow, who cannot be pleased by the *near*, sigh for the *far*, and visit the springs. Those that cannot be appreciated at home, go to be appreciated abroad. Those who are unhappy at home, seek to be happy abroad. Pleasure-lovers, money-lovers, ambition-lovers, and variety-lovers, accompany the poor valetudinarian or the invalid, to the springs; so that the laugh and the groan, the ball-room and the hospital, honesty and dishonesty, purity and impurity, become near neighbors at the springs.

Twenty-two miles from the White Sulphur, in the same county, on the Guyandotte road, is the Blue Sulphur Springs.

The temperature of the water is 53 degrees. Its solid ingredients are sulphates of lime, of magnesia, of soda; carbonates of lime, of magnesia; chlorides of magnesium, of sodium, of calcium; hydro-sulphate of sodium and magnesia, oxide of iron, iodine, sulphur, organic matters; and its gaseous ingredients are sulphuretted hydrogen, carbonic acid, oxygen, nitrogen. It has the reputation of curing chlorotic females. It is slightly tonic, from the proto-sulphate found in it.

Thirty-two miles from the Blue Sulphur, in the adjoining county of Monroe, are the Red Sulphur Springs.

These springs have a great deal of reputation, and are numerously attended. Mr. Hayes, by whom the water (red deposit and mud from these springs) was subjected to a most critical chemical analysis, remarked that at the time at which he engaged in the examination, very little was known of the ingredients of this water, "although its medicinal effects had rendered the watering-place a celebrated one." Mr. Hayes differs from Professor Rogers with regard to the "organic matter contained in the water." He does not consider it of the same nature of the barogene or glairine of the warm springs of Italy and France; an important agent in the estimation of Mr. Hayes in the medicinal efficacy of this celebrated water. "The opinion," remarks Mr. Hayes, "that substances of delicately balanced affinities in their changes gave rise to changes in other bodies, is gaining ground among the most learned physiologists and chemists, and such a view of the effects of some of the constituents of mineral waters is the correct one." This, so well expressed by this shrewd writer, is a germ of a splendid theory. The main and distinctive elements of any theoretical superstructure that might be predicated upon the products as secondary bodies of the substances of delicately balanced affinities, is very carefully guarded and protected by the qualifications placed by Mr. Hayes over the doctrine, that will forever protect it from the curse of the German and French school of physiologists of substituting the crudities of theory for the substantial fruits of the observational system. Mr. Hayes "excludes all those waters wherein one stable constituent, of great activity, gives character to the water." "These views would be more acceptable," remarks Mr. Hayes, "if experience had demonstrated their truth; for this we must wait." Did our space admit, nothing would be more acceptable than to run the doctrine respecting changes in secondary bodies, which substances of delicately balanced affinities, in their changes, produce, to those legitimate conclusions warranted by the general laws of fermentation and decay.

In the analysis of Mr. Hayes, it was shown that the proportion of oxygen gas to the nitrogen is still smaller—a result

which accords with other observations made at the same time. The hydro-sulphuric acid gas is the most active of the gases found, while the carbonic acid gas acts the part of an acid in rendering earthy salts soluble in the water." The most important element brought to public attention in the very scientific analysis of Mr. Hayes, is with regard to the peculiar sulphur compound which forms a part of the saline contents of this water. In his opinion it has never been before "described, if it has before ever been met with." Upon investigation he found that alcohol did not dissolve the compound.

"Chemical experiments do not show," says he, "the medicinal properties of the substances operated upon. But where a substance, the result of *delicately balanced affinities*, gives in its decomposition an agent of powerful action on the animal system, we may conclude that it is an active ingredient, if found in a water possessed of high curative powers." In the general accuracy of this reasoning we profoundly concur, only so far modified, as we think it should be, by the important consideration, that mineral waters never cure, as specific agents, but by the alterative action—the restoration of the normal activity of the system. The diseases in which the Red Sulphur has been more available are, according to Dr. Burke, chronic laryngitis, chronic bronchitis, hemoptysis, chronic phthisis, functional disease of the heart, hypertrophy of the heart, mucous diarrhea, irritability of the nerves, producing sleeplessness, irritation of the kidneys and bladder, lithic acid gravel, chronic hepatitis, amenorrhea, dysmenorrhea, menorrhagia, chronic splenitis, chronic gastritis, hemorrhoids, scrofula, chronic exanthemata of the skin.

"This water," continues Dr. Burke, "being manifestly narcotic, is contraindicated in plethora, apoplexy, epilepsy, chorea, vertigo, and all diseases indicating too great a tendency of blood to the brain. In the acute stages of disease it is decidedly injurious. In the course of my practice in the neighborhood, it was used in some cases as ordinary drinking water, in the first stages of pleurisy and pneumonia, and in bilious fever, but with invariable aggravation of the symptoms. After the inflammatory stage was subdued and an incipient convalescence, I found it exceedingly valuable in invigorating the constitution."

In the same county, seventeen miles from the last mentioned watering-place, are the Salt Sulphur Springs. This watering-place has the threefold attraction of the medicinal efficacy of its waters, the tasteful improvements of its proprietors, and its beautiful scenery. The spring, although it furnishes a sufficient supply for the purposes to which it is applied, has the advantage of not being a bold stream, thereby making up for the deficiency of the supply in the greater strength and purity of those foreign ingredients upon which its value and celebrity depend.

These springs are recommended for affections of the brain, chronic headache, mania and palsy in their early stages, in affections of the nerves, and indeed in all diseases dependent upon derangement of the secretory glands of the stomach, in all affections of the chest, and in all the irritations of the stomach and bowels where they have been of long standing, in cases of obstinate constipation, and in cases of ordinary dyspepsia, chronic rheumatism, periostitis, gout, together with cutaneous disorders.

According to Prof. Wm. B. Rogers, the following analysis of the Salt Sulphur Springs may be relied upon:

Temperature variable from 49° to 56°, solid matter procured by evaporation from 100 cubic inches, weighed after being dried, in 212°, 81.41 grains.

Quantity of each solid ingredient in 100 cubic inches, estimated as perfectly free from water—

1. Sulphate of Lime.....	36.755
2. Sulphate of Magnesia.....	7.833
3. Sulphate of Soda.....	0.683
4. Carbonate of Lime.....	4.445
5. Carbonate of Magnesia.....	1.434
6. Chloride of Magnesium.....	0.116
7. Chloride of Sodium.....	0.683
8. Chloride of Calcium.....	0.025
9. Peroxide of Iron, derived from proto-sulphate.....	0.042
10. An azotized organic matter, blended with sulphur, about.....	.004
11. Earthy phosphates, }.....	a trace.
12. Iodine.....	

Volume of each of the gases contained in a free state in 100 cubic inches—

Sulphuretted Hydrogen.....	1.10 to 1.50
Nitrogen.....	2.05
Oxygen.....	0.37
Carbonic Acid.....	5.75

Many persons have been cured here, and have given to the enterprising proprietors certificates to that effect, that have found their way into the public

prints. The one from the pen of Mr. Joseph E. Garratt, with regard to an obstinate disease of the liver and dyspepsia, is very satisfactory.

The Sweet Springs are found in the same county, twenty-two miles from the Salt Sulphur. These springs are among the oldest of the Virginia Springs, and among the highest in reputation, and last, not least, are esteemed to be the gayest. The locality is fine, and of convenient access. The water of these springs is recommended in cases of general debility arising from dissipation in eating or drinking, or from any other cause than derangement of any local function by congestion. Languor of mind, shattered state of the nerves, gloomy presentiments ripening into disease, may be removed by the prudent and persevering use of this water. Persons in advanced life may here receive renewed invigoration. In rheumatism and gout they are valuable. In certain forms of dyspepsia they are also serviceable.

In the immediate vicinity of these springs are the Red Sweet Springs, valuable for the chalybeate quality of its water. The tonic property of the water renders it invaluable for bathing purposes, imparting a peculiarly healthful vigor to the debilitated patients that use it in this way. The accommodations for bathing are convenient and substantial, and erected with a special eye to the comfort of the different sexes that visit them.

The following is the analysis of Professor Rogers of the water.

Quantity of each solid ingredient estimated as perfectly free from water. In 100 cubic inches—

Sulphate of Lime.....	14.233
" Magnesia.....	3.107
" Soda.....	1.400
Carbonate of Lime.....	9.411
" Magnesia.....	1.166
Chloride of Sodium.....	0.037
" Magnesium.....	0.680
" Calcium.....	0.019
Sesquioxide of Iron.....	0.320

Organic matter in small quantities.

Iodine—a mere trace.

The iron is no doubt dissolved in the water as a carbonate.

Volume of each of the gases contained in a free state in 100 cubic inches of the water:

Carbonic Acid.....	46.10
Nitrogen.....	2.57
Oxygen.....	.30
Sulphuretted Hydrogen—a trace too small to be measured.....	

Composition of 100 cubic inches of the mixed gases rising in bubbles in the spring—

Nitrogen.....	62.5
Carbonic Acid.....	37.5

The Warm Springs are situated in Bath county, about one hundred and seventy miles from Richmond. The scenery is wild and picturesque. The average temperature of the water is between 99 and 100° Fahrenheit.

The water, as analyzed by Professor Rogers, contains 4.5 cubic inches of gas to the gallon of water—

Nitrogen.....	3.25 cubic inches
Sulphur Hydrogen.....	0.25 " "
Carbonic Acid.....	1.00 " "

The saline contents of one gallon of the water are as follows—

Muriate of Lime.....	3.968
Sulphate of Magnesia.....	9.984
Carbonate of Lime.....	4.288
Sulphate of Lime.....	5.460
And a trace of Soda.....	0.000
	<hr/> 23.706

The predominance of the sulphate of magnesia in this water imparts the decided aperient quality belonging to it, while an action upon the skin and the invigoration of the stomach and bowels may be traced to the sulphuretted hydrogen, and to the carbonic acid. As a general rule, warm waters have a more direct and decided impression upon the human system than water of the usual temperature, and hence are to be resorted to with greater care and circumspection. Even in cases of diseases, peculiarly coming under the operation of its curative efficacy, there may often occur serious injuries to the constitution from an injudicious or mal-employment of this agent.

This water is famed for its efficacy in cases of dyspepsia. It also may be used for the following diseases: gout, rheumatism, metastases of gout or rheumatism, lumbago, diseases of the bones, affections of the spinal marrow, debility of the joints, paralysis, uterine derangements, &c.

The famous Hot Springs are situated in the same county, and within a few miles of the Warm Springs. They are owned by different proprietors, and are possessed of such excellent accommodations that the visiting public may safely calculate upon the certain relief from

the inconveniences that ordinarily attend watering places.

The Warm Springs, Hot Springs, and Bath Alum Springs, are in the neighborhood of each other, and may be reached from Richmond by the way of the James River and Kanawha Canal to Lynchburg, by the Natural Bridge to Lexington, and then directly by the Rockbridge Alum Springs, to or from Washington City, by the way of the Fauquier White Sulphur Springs and Harrisonburg to the Hot Springs. There are six baths, and the hot pool or bath ranges from 100 to 107° Fahrenheit. There is a hot spout for the ladies, and one for the gentlemen, of the temperature of 106° Fahrenheit, with a fall of about five feet. The efficacy of the hot spout in cases of local physical derangement is well established.

The analysis of the water, as given by Professor Rogers, is as follows:

In 64 cubic inches the saline ingredients are—

Carbonate of Lime.....	4.82
Sulphate of Lime.....	1.52
" Soda.....	0.92
" Magnesia.....	0.57
Muriate of Soda.....	0.37
Silica.....	0.05
	<hr/> 8.25

This water, either as applied to the human body externally, or as taken in draughts internally, imparts its curative properties to the general system by a process much more rapid than if the temperature were not thermal. Acting as mineral waters all do, by their stimulating and invigorating influence upon the normal condition of the system, the diseased organism, or diseased condition, it is expected would be soon ousted under the increased rapidity of operation of their remedial tendencies effected by the hot mineral water. Hence the greater care in ascertaining the diseases that are counter-indicated.

The greater rapidity of the active principles of thermal waters in running to their climax, points to the necessity of guarding persons under any acute frame of disorder from the use of them. Upon the same principle, whenever there is tendency to febrile action, or sub-acute inflammatory action, or when consumption has gone so far as to give rise to febrile action, patients thus affected are to avoid their use; while persons affected by gout or rheumatism, cutaneous affec-

tions of every class, uterine affections, certain forms of dropsy, may use them with safety.

Within five miles of the Warm Springs is to be found that charming watering-place, the Bath Alum Springs. They have all the freshness of youth and charm of novelty. It is only within a few years that they have gained any celebrity. The buildings are new, and the accommodation fine.

The Rockbridge Alum Springs, in Rockbridge county—Debrell's Spring in Botetourt county, and the springs of Eastern Virginia, are worthy to engage the attention of the invalid, or the votary of pleasure. Mineral waters are often divided into four classes, to wit: the acidulous, the sulphureous, the chalybeate, and the saline.

Acidulous waters comprise those in which the carbonic acid is found either in its free state, or as combined with a lesser base.

Sulphureous waters are those that hold sulphuretted hydrogen as a main element.

Chalybeate waters are those that hold iron as a main ingredient.

Saline waters are those that hold the saline ingredients, ordinarily found in mineral waters, but which do not hold in any excess either of the three ingredients above specified, to wit: carbonic acid, sulphuretted hydrogen, or iron.

Acidulous waters may be known by their acid taste, and by their sparkling when poured from one vessel into another, both of which they lose when exposed to the atmosphere for any length of time.

Sulphureous waters may be known by their odor, and by turning silver black when poured upon it, and by turning a solution of the salt of lead black.

Chalybeate waters may be known by their peculiar taste, and by their becoming black when combined with an infusion of nutgalls. This ingredient is very easily detected—"Copper may be detected by evaporating the fluid to dryness, dissolving the residue in nitric acid, and adding ammonia to the solution. If this metal be present, it will acquire a blue color."

ART. VII.—THE NATIONAL DEFENCES AS CONNECTED WITH A SYSTEM OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

MY DEAR SIR:

The improvement of harbors and their dependent rivers, in connection with the existence of rail-ways and telegraphs, not only promote the interests of commerce, but contribute directly to the defence of the country, by affording commodious havens for the operations of the navy, and by enabling men and military supplies to be collected promptly and moved rapidly to points threatened with invasion.

The rapid extension of the rail-way and telegraph systems in the United States, indicates that private enterprise is sufficient to maintain and increase them in due proportion to the populated areas of the country. But the improvement of harbors and rivers generally are not sufficiently remunerative to call forth private enterprise, even if legislative grants, either by Congress or the states, could be obtained, authorizing the im-

provement. Nor could any state assume to improve a harbor, or a great river, or "inland sea," like the Mississippi, the Hudson, or the Delaware, and at the same time the right to impose remunerative tolls on the national commerce. This branch then of the internal improvement of the country is entirely dependent on the United States for its maintenance, and as it has been shown that it contributes directly to promote the interests of commerce and the national defence, all doubts vanish as to the constitutional right of Congress to authorize its existence and maintain it with the public money. This was clearly the opinion of Mr. Calhoun. The declaration by the Baltimore Whig Convention that it is expedient to exercise this constitutional power only when it promotes commerce and assists the national defences, has in a great degree disarmed opposition, and it may be now considered the settled

policy of the country that harbors and their dependent rivers shall be improved under the authority of Congress.

The remarks which follow were embraced in a report to the Secretary of War on the national defences, and have contributed to break down the system of fortifications established thirty-five years ago, and to exhibit other powerful elements in the resources of the country, which, whilst they are the means of unexampled prosperity to the civilized world, make the United States physically and morally the best defended nation in the world against the attacks of brute force, with a correspondent power of offence, should international difficulties require it.

In reviewing "the general system adopted after the war with Great Britain, and since pursued in regard to the permanent fortifications, then deemed necessary for the national defence," it will be relevant to the subject to allude to the condition of that defence when the United States declared themselves independent of Great Britain, and prepared to sustain that declaration by force of arms, during the period of peace from 1783 to 1812, and during the war of 1812-15.

In the first period the defences on the seaboard of the colonies, extending from Nova Scotia to Florida, were confined to a few points. England, having driven the French from their North American colonies, had little fear of any future attempt on the part of France either to regain her lost possessions, or to attack the other possessions of England in America.

In the course of the war of Independence, the English were driven in succession from Boston, New-York, Yorktown, and other places, and finally from the whole country, by which the power of the United States, even in its incipency, to resist aggression from the most powerful of nations, was favorably exhibited.

Few or no additional seacoast defences were constructed during the war, yet the public and private armed ships, issuing from the ports of the United States, did immense injury to British commerce, and even kept the whole western coasts of England and Scotland in constant alarm. Some hastily raised redoubts on Dorchester heights compelled the English to retreat from Boston with their fleet and army; and the castle, defending the entrance to the harbor, falling into the

hands of the Americans, together with some temporary erections of earth on the surrounding heights and islands, secured Boston from again being occupied by the enemy. Charleston was successfully defended by the Palmetto fort against a squadron of ships; and the success generally of the American arms up to the surrender of Yorktown, demonstrated, if not the impossibility of reducing the colonies to subjection, at least the enormous expenditure of life and money attendant on the attempt.

This truth led, with other things, to a change of policy in England in regard to the United States. The new administration made peace with the colonies; and the wise statesmen of England saw that an intimate commercial intercourse with the United States, as an independent power, would probably be more advantageous to the interests of their country, than the possession of colonies that would require much blood and treasure to regain and hold; whilst the trade with the same would be interrupted and precarious. The foundation of this policy was the preservation for the future of uninterrupted friendly relations between England and America; and it was the determination of the party in power to secure, at all hazards and at all times, peace with the United States.

But unfortunately for a strict adherence to these views, the great wars growing out of the French Revolution placed England in position to struggle for her very existence as an independent power; and, in the course of the contest, principles in relation to neutrality were adopted, and so rigidly adhered to, that the interests and honor of neutral nations, and of the United States in particular, were compromised. In persisting to assert her arrogant pretensions, the government of England was deceived by its diplomatic agents and friends as to the effect produced in America. These, judging of the strength of the party in opposition to Mr. Madison's administration, and of the talent and influence of the principal men of that party, constantly represented to the English government that the President would not recommend to Congress a declaration of war against England in the face of the powerful party opposed to such a measure. A secretary of legation, in Washington, was the only correspondent of the English ministry who understood the exact state of things in the United States. He repeatedly advised

National Defences as Connected with Internal Improvements.

the minister of Foreign Affairs that the latter was not correctly informed of the feeling in America; and that, unless the orders in council were revoked, and other obnoxious measures and acts abated, war would certainly be declared against England by the United States. At last the secretary was listened to, and the orders in council were repealed; but before the news reached the United States, war had been declared. The messengers bearing respectively the declaration of war, and the order removing the principal cause which led to the declaration, passed each other on the ocean.

Thus was the war of 1812-15, or, as it has been termed, "the second war of independence," a blunder which England lost no time in remedying, by seeking for and concluding a peace with the United States as soon as she could do so with honor to herself.

At the time peace was made, England was never more powerful. Triumphant over all her enemies in Europe, by sea and land, she was left by the general peace of 1815 in possession of vast means, ready organized and practised in war, with which she might have given the United States some severe, though not fatal blows. But however much her pride of power might have been gratified by carrying her triumphant arms to America, she preferred at once to resume peaceful and intimate relations with the United States, and to secure all the advantages flowing therefrom, then and forever. Her far-seeing statesmen knew that the true policy to be followed in respect to the United States in 1815 was, with increased reasons for its adoption, that indicated by the statesmen of 1783; and they resolved that no future blunder should lead to a war between the United States and England, so far as the latter could prevent it. In this favorable state of the political atmosphere, the clouds that lowered over the northeastern boundary, over Canada during the patriot demonstration, and over Oregon, were soon cleared away. It is true that the United States yielded in these instances something more than was due to England's just claims; but it was rather the graceful yielding of a daughter to a mother's solicitation, than the acknowledgment of any power of coercion possessed by England. If the peaceful views of England were not then generally acknowledged, they are now made manifest. England is not only at this time, to a

great degree, dependent on the United States in commercial matters, but signs are significant, that she considers her future fate depends on maintaining the most friendly relations with the United States, so that they would, from interest in commercial matters, and perhaps from a better feeling for their noble mother, look with disfavor on any combination of the European powers to humble and crush her.

France also gave evidence how much importance she attached to the maintenance of the most intimate relations in trade with this country, and how reluctantly, if at all, she would resort to hostilities with the United States. The king of the French, supported by public opinion, was enabled to overcome the opposition of the chambers to the payment of the amount stipulated by treaty to be paid for spoiliations on our commerce. This public opinion was especially expressed by numerous petitions coming up from the great commercial and manufacturing districts of the kingdom, praying that the difficulties with America might be settled, and peace preserved.

During the period extending from 1783 to 1812, considerable expenditures were made from time to time on our forts and batteries at the principal seaports, in anticipation of possible war growing out of the French revolution; and more recently, in consequence of the continued aggression on our commerce by English cruisers; so that when war actually broke out in 1812, there was not a town of any magnitude that was not supplied with one or more batteries. Nevertheless, there were a great many small towns exposed without defence to the enemy, and were left unmolested by him, seeing that their destruction or injury could in nowise facilitate his operations, whilst such acts of Vandalism would serve only to hold him up to the execration of the civilized world.

In the course of the war of 1812-15, the defences of the country were considerably increased in value by the construction of field-works; and in no instance were such defences, supported by well-trained and patriotic volunteers, overcome. Attacks were made on Fort Boyer at Mobile, on Fort McHenry at Baltimore, and on Fort St. Philip below New-Orleans, and were successfully repelled. Our vessels of war were blockaded in New-London, and chased into Marblehead and Boston, where they

found security under the batteries. Castine was taken and held by the enemy, but being a point of no importance, it was not retaken, for it served to detach a portion of the enemy's forces from operating at other points.

Washington was reached, and the Capitol brutally attacked and defaced. The success of the enemy, in this instance, was obtained less from the well-arranged plan of his operations, than from the imbecility of the generals commanding the American forces rallied for the defence. The enemy was signally defeated many times, by sea and land, and the war was triumphantly terminated by the battle of New-Orleans.

Thus was the country preserved intact, during a war of two years and eight months, against the operations of an enemy having the mastery at sea, and when the defences of the country were comparatively weak.

It should be here remarked, that a large expenditure of money was incurred in consequence of the want of facile lines of rail, canal, or common way communications leading toward and along the northern, Atlantic, and Gulf frontiers, through which men, munitions, and machinery of war could be transported. Yet in face of these difficulties, movements were generally made when required, efficiently, and with considerable promptness.

It was on account of the difficulty of wielding mobile forces for the defence of the seaboard and lake frontiers, rather than from any signal success obtained by the enemy against the ports and batteries, that it was determined at the close of the war to adopt a system of defence by permanent fortifications on a large scale. Under an excitement fed by the friends of the scheme, Congress voted large sums of money to be expended on works which were to be planned, principally, by a foreign engineer, with such help as might, perchance, be rendered by the native officers of engineers, some of whom had not altogether escaped distinction in the late war. A distinguished general officer of engineers in France, who stood high in the estimation of Napoleon, was engaged and received in the service of the United States under the title of assistant engineer, with the rank and pay of a brigadier general. No protest against this arrangement was made by these officers of engineers, whose rank and influence would have entitled them

to be heard in opposition, if any was entertained by them.* The acquiescence of these officers, if not amounting to approval, led Congress and the authorities to suppose that no serious disapproval of the measures adopted was entertained by them. Being thus negatively endorsed, it was considered that a good arrangement had been made by the government, by which a lack of skill in the native officers, unfitting them for the task of designing the grand scheme of defence, might be supplied by an importation from abroad.

Under the auspices of the foreign engineer, a scheme for the defence of the seaboard from Passamaquoddy to the Sabine was devised, involving a cost of many millions of dollars, and submitted to, and approved by the government.

The progress of construction of the works under the new, or, as it has been termed, "the third system of defence," was not very rapid. The Gulf frontier being considered the weakest and most assailable was first attended to, and in about ten years the river and lake approaches to New-Orleans, and the entrance to Mobile bay, were occupied by strong works. The commencement of new works of the system was, in the mean time, gradually extended to the north and south Atlantic coasts, and subsequently to all of the most important points along the Gulf and Atlantic frontiers. These defences, combining the repairs of old works with the construction of new ones, place the seacoast of the United States in a better condition of defence than that of any other seacoast in the world.

In planning the new works, it seems to have been taken for granted, in many instances, that each work must depend on itself without chance of succor from forces operating on the rear and flanks. Works were thus constructed, to sustain a siege from ten to fifteen days, in the midst of a population from which relief to the invested work could be drawn in twenty-four hours. The expensive arrangement of these land defences have greatly increased the cost of the works, already from their nature very costly;

* Since the printing of this report I have been informed that the former distinguished chief engineer, General Swift, did make a strong and able protest against the employment of a foreign engineer to aid in arranging the public defence. The letter, dated July 1, 1816, containing this protest, addressed to the Secretary of War, is on file in the Engineer Bureau. W. H. C.

and at this day excite the surprise of the professional examiner, acquainted with the vast means of collateral defence possessed by the United States, that anything more should have been required for most of the works, than security against assault by escalade.

The report to be made by the chief engineer of the United States, on the second resolution of the series before mentioned, will exhibit the exact condition of the works composing "the third system of defence;" the number and strength of the works; the first estimates of cost; their extent, capacity, armament and actual cost; and an estimate of the sums necessary to complete them.

This exhibition will prove what has been herein stated, *that the United States, at this time, possess the best fortified seacoast in the world.*

Whilst the defence of the coast has been gradually accomplished in the course of thirty-five years by the construction of permanent, extensive and expensive fortifications, new and important elements in the national defence and security have been rapidly—almost magically developed. Our population has increased from 8,000,000 to 23,000,000. The progress of the improvement in agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and in the facile lines of intercommunication necessary to meet the demands of the growing prosperity of the country, has advanced in a ratio even greater than that of the population.

The lines of communication, in combination with the electric telegraph, whilst they impart new life and vigor to the country, bring distant sections of it in easy correspondence with the centre, at once affording security against foreign aggression, and making the people more interested in preserving those glorious institutions under which, for seventy years, they have happily lived and prospered.

The interior and exterior commerce of the country have advanced with surprising strides. The latter has become so necessary to the leading commercial nations of the world, that its interruption would produce disastrous results to those nations. The stoppage of the supply of cotton following a war with the United States, would be attended in England by the most serious consequences to her trade and finances—consequences deemed by many as being fatal to the political institutions of that country.

In this brief review, we have passed

through three epochs:—that of the Revolutionary war, that of the war of 1812-'15, and that of the elapsed time from 1815 to 1851.

In the first epoch it has been shown that the power of England, although relatively greater than it is now in respect to this country, aided also as it was by a considerable portion of the inhabitants remaining loyal to England, was inadequate to subdue our people, or to retain any portion of our soil.

In the second epoch it has also been shown, that though the national defence, by permanent fortifications, was weak in comparison with the present one—and the means for the operation of the mobile forces were limited and difficult in their use, the most formidable demonstrations of the enemy were easily defeated, and the country preserved from any injurious attacks of the enemy, except in one or two instances.

And in the third epoch it is shown that, in the several international difficulties which have arisen with France and England, those powerful nations gave evidence, throughout the pending negotiations, of their desire to maintain that pacific policy so essential to the prosecution of the commercial and manufacturing pursuits which have been extended so rapidly in their respective countries during the last thirty years.

This epoch, now of thirty-five years' duration, is distinguished for the profound peace which has been maintained throughout the civilized world, without interruption, except in the instances of the Mexican war, and of some unimportant conflicts in Europe—and whilst it has thus been distinguished, it is no less so on account of the wonderful progress made in the arts and sciences, by whose influence the character of nations and of their governments have been greatly changed for the better, affording new guarantees that the pacific policy, so long and profitably maintained by the leading commercial nations, will continue to be cherished towards all countries, and towards ours in particular.

In view, then, of all these things, and especially of the new elements, moral, political and physical, claimed to have been developed and to have greatly increased the power of the United States, *and which must be considered in relation to the future arrangement of the national defence*, the undersigned thinks that the general plan adopted thirty-five years

ago should be essentially modified, by reducing the number and size of the works proposed to be constructed, and by abandoning some of the defences now in progress of construction, or which are about to be constructed under existing appropriations made by Congress.

The undersigned is also of the opinion that the best interests of the country require that the subject of modification should be submitted to a board composed of artillery and engineer officers, and some eminent civilians; that no new work should be commenced, even if it has been appropriated for by Congress; and that no appropriation should be made by Congress for the completion and repairs of existing works, until the whole subject of the national defence has been considered and reported by the said board.

The Secretary of War desires "that the chief engineer and the above-named officers, (Colonel Thayer, Lieut. Colonel De Russy, Major Delafield and Major Chase,) should direct their inquiries particularly to the following points:

"1st. How far the invention and extension of railways have superseded or diminished the necessity of fortifications on the seaboard?

"2d. In what manner and to what extent the navigation of the ocean, by steam, and particularly the application of steam to vessels of war, and recent improvements in artillery and other military inventions and discoveries, affect the question?

"3d. How far vessels of war, steam-batteries, ordinary merchant ships and steamers, and other temporary expedients, can be relied upon as substitutes for permanent fortifications for the defence of the large seaports?

"4th. How far the increase of the population on the northern frontier, and of the mercantile marine on the northern lakes, can obviate or diminish the necessity of continuing the system of fortifications on those lakes."

The results of the inquiries made by the undersigned in the premises are expressed as follows:

1st. The invention and extension of railways and of the electric telegraph, in connection with the great increase in the number and size of steam vessels navigating the rivers, bays, lakes and ocean, have added greatly to the strength of the Union, by bringing the most distant sections within a few days' travel of the centre, and do thus contribute to preserve

tranquillity at home, and repel aggressions from abroad.

The lines of railways, assuming the radiating point at New-York, will shortly be extended to most of the important seaboard and inland towns in the United States. The telegraph lines following the rails, and also diverging from them, are beginning to interlace the country in every direction. By these means, and the rapid increase of our population indigenously and by immigration, agriculture and manufactures have been surprisingly extended throughout our broad domain, and an internal commerce has arisen, by the interchange of the products of art and of our various climates, which is considered to be of greater value than the exterior commerce of the country. With the exception of a few articles, our artificial and natural productions embrace everything that can be produced in any part of the world.

These are immense elements of strength to a nation, and insure its power and prosperity. This is the moral effect.

The existence of these railways and telegraphs contributes directly and physically to the defence of the country, by enabling men and military supplies to be collected promptly and moved rapidly to points threatened with invasion. Railways extend already along the coast, in some instances in double lines, from Portland to Savannah, connecting all the intermediate cities and other important points with the canals and rivers and the naval and military arsenals and depots. From this great base line, other lines, convergent and divergent, have reached lakes Erie, Ontario and Champlain, and they are rapidly approaching and crossing the great lakes and rivers of the west. And it is hoped that Congress will not long delay, in conjunction with the state of Texas, in making such a donation of lands as will enable private enterprise to commence and complete a railway leading from some point between the mouth of Red River and New-Orleans, through Louisiana and Texas to El Paso, and thence through the valley of the Gila to San Diego, in California.

A single example of the pervading extent of the railway system will at once illustrate the subject, and exhibit in a favorable light these new means for the national defence. The completion of the railway, now in course of construction, from Wilmington, in North Carolina, to

Manchester, in South Carolina, will enable troops to be transported continuously, by railway, from the valley of the Tennessee to Norfolk, in *two days*, to Washington in *two and a half days*, and to Charleston and Savannah in *one day*. The extension of the railway now being made from Chattanooga, on the Tennessee River, to Nashville, will enable the volunteers from the superb military population of Tennessee to be carried to the most distant points of the north and south Atlantic, almost at a moment's warning, and in the course of three or four days; whilst the speedy completion of the road from Atlanta, in Georgia, to Montgomery, in Alabama, and the probable construction of a road from Montgomery to Mobile and Pensacola, will bring the Gulf of Mexico within a day's travel of the same great State of Tennessee.

At the North the system of railways is much more extended. The New-York and Erie road, now complete, is proposed to be extended along the shore of Lake Erie to Cleveland, and thence to Detroit, from whence a road has been carried to Chicago, on Lake Michigan. The seaboard base of railways will thus be brought within easy communication of the most distant lake frontier.

The Massachusetts, Vermont, St. Lawrence and Montreal railways will bring the whole Canada frontier, extending from Lake Ontario down to Montreal, within twenty-four hours' travel on an average, of Boston, Portland and New-York.

The transportation of troops on railways may be effected with great promptness. The first regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, raised in Philadelphia, the most distant point from the scene of action, were transported so rapidly to New-Orleans via Pittsburgh and the Pennsylvania railways, that the regiment, one thousand strong, was placed in the van of the volunteer forces, raised for the campaign against Mexico, under General Scott.

Sufficient has been said to show that railways and the electric telegraph contribute largely to the national defence; that the works covering our large seaports and other important points, placed in connection with the railways and telegraph, if they were now to be constructed, might be much reduced in size and cost, if not in number; that the facility with which these works could be relieved, in case of an attempted siege, would

have rendered it only necessary for them to be made secure against a *coup-de-main*.

Under these views of the subject, it is at once perceived that, whilst the extension and invention of railways (and the electric telegraph) do not supersede, they greatly diminish the necessity of adding to the number and cost of the fortifications on the seaboard; or, in other words, that the future prosecution of the system of defence by permanent fortifications should be on a very reduced scale in comparison with the magnificent one adopted thirty-five years ago.

2d. The navigation of the ocean by steam, and the application of steam to vessels of war, have certainly added to the facilities of naval operations in making attacks and transporting troops. But such operations are necessarily confined to short lines, like those between France and England, in the Mediterranean, or on the lakes between Canada and the United States.

Attacks by steamers can only be formidable when they are numerous and filled with troops destined for a grand attack; but when they are thus filled with troops, munitions of war, provisions, armament and their regular crews, little room is left for the fuel necessary to propel them to the scene of action and in retreat. Such steamers cannot be propelled either conveniently or rapidly until the propelling power can be produced at a less outlay for fuel. At the rate supposed to be the maximum of speed of war steamers, lines of operations over one thousand miles (five hundred in advance and five hundred in retreat) cannot be occupied advantageously, or with the efficiency necessary to a great movement of a strategic or direct attack. Numerous transports would be necessary to convey supplies of coal to convenient places on the coast, where depots for the same would have to be established and defended at great cost, for they would be constantly in danger of attack by sea and land from enterprising assailants. Besides, the great loads of men, munitions, armaments, provisions and fuel that war and transport steamers would be obliged to carry, multiply the dangers of navigation.

Certainly steamers could make sudden and brief attempts to enter harbors and destroy towns, but fast-sailing ships with favorable winds could do the same, if this kind of marauding and piratical

warfare was carried on by any Christian nation calling itself civilized, and if not opposed to the same machines of war as those used by the enemy and by acts of retaliation.

Such attempts might be successful in attack and retreat, if made in the night, even if the harbor was strongly fortified, if the fortifications were unaided by rafts and hulks lying across the channels.

But a demonstration on a large scale against the important ports and arsenals, for the purpose of taking possession and levying contributions, requires considerable land forces, even against such points as were not defended by permanent batteries; for at such points, in time of war, earth erections would be made and easily supplied with cannon of heavy calibre, that would do great damage, by direct and vertical cannonade, to the enemy's vessels and forces afloat, after they had entered the harbor, and probably compel them to leave it, and force him to select a more distant point for the initiative of attack.

If the enemy, strong in ships and soldiers, could be driven from Boston by the erection of some redoubts in the course of one night, it is hardly to be supposed that he would attempt to recapture the position, or to attack any other position similarly situated.

Any such demonstration at the present day would be checked by the means just enumerated, and be met on its flanks and in front by the mobile forces rallied by the telegraph to the point of attack.

The improvement in artillery, as regards size and efficiency, has been, of late years, very great, but it ensures more to the benefit of the defence than the attack. In the same way that, if steam applied to ships of war afford any advantage to the attack, steam applied on railways, combined with the electric telegraph, affords greater advantages to the defence, by reason of the greater facility with which forces may be moved by the latter means.

From all which it may be safely asserted that the navigation of the ocean by steam, the application of steam to vessels of war, and recent improvements in artillery and other military inventions, do not exhibit the attack of forts on the seaboard superior to the defence, where those forts are connected with railways and are brought within succor of the surrounding population; nor do they render additions to the present fortifica-

tions in number, size or cost, in any wise necessary. But, on the contrary, the improvement in artillery, if those fortifications had now to be built, would enable their plans to be reduced *one-half* in size, and the armament *one-fourth* in amount.

The substitution of the ten-inch Columbiad for the mixed and most inefficient armaments with which our fortifications have been garished at great expense, is already forced upon us by the introduction of those superb guns on board of vessels of war. It would be ridiculous, if it be intended to adhere in any degree to the present system of seacoast defence, to retain the present armaments, composed principally, as they are, of *twelve, eighteen, twenty-four, thirty-two, and forty-two pounders*. It is the opinion of many persons, entertained for years past, that but one class of guns should be generally used in our batteries on the coast, and that these guns should be of the largest calibre which experiment has demonstrated could be efficiently used.

Fort McRee, in the harbor of Pensacola, is supplied with *one hundred and twenty guns*, composed of about equal numbers of *twenty-four, thirty-two and forty-two pounders*. The average effective range of these guns may be stated at 1,100 yards, and the weight of metal that may be projected from the entire battery 3,920 pounds. Now *thirty ten-inch Columbiads* would throw the same weight of solid shot, and strike an object, with precision, at 2,200 yards distant; so that, whilst the number of guns at Fort McRee might be reduced seventy-five in one hundred, the effective range by solid and hollow shot would be increased one hundred in one hundred, and the efficiency of the batteries greatly increased, at the same time the size of that work might be reduced at least one-half.

3d. Our large seaports and naval depots being already covered by extensive works, and requiring but small additional defences, the discussion of the question as to the superiority of those defences over vessels of war, floating batteries, ordinary merchant vessels and steamers, and other temporary expedients, would seem to be unnecessary. All experience, however, has shown that any kind of floating defences is inferior, on every score, to land batteries, where the localities will permit the latter to be used. This subject has been ably discussed and illustrated in the report made by a board of officers to the Secretary of War, in 1840, on the national

defences. Other temporary expedients, such as rafts, hulks sunk in channels, and ridges of stone thrown across the same, could be relied upon, in most instances, only as auxiliary defence to land batteries.

4th. In considering how far the increase of population on the northern frontier, and of the mercantile marine on the northern lakes, obviates the necessity of continuing the system of fortifications on those lakes, it will be necessary to bring into view some of the elements of strength, moral, physical, and political, possessed by the United States, and which have already been alluded to in this report.

The chief moral and political element is the aversion to war with the United States, felt by Great Britain, whose present superiority in naval means of attack make her, of all nations, alone formidable to us. This aversion arises from the intimate and *entangling* relations in commerce with this country, and from the dependence of England upon the United States for the chief supply of cotton to the leading branch of her manufactures. And this aversion to the slightest approach of international hostility is not abated by the consideration, that the untoward event of war with the United States would prompt Russia and France to carry out their long-cherished designs of aggrandizement in Turkey, Syria, and India.

The principal physical elements are: *first*, the facility with which, by means of existing railways, we could approach Montreal with a large force, and drive thence the British forces to seek shelter under the walls of Quebec, and finally from all Canada; by which simple and rapid movement the two provinces would fall without a struggle into our possession, with one-half of its population, at least, inclined to a change of sovereignty; and *second*, the superiority of our mercantile marine, affording convertible means for a naval force, giving us the mastery of the lakes, and enabling us to crush any partisan attempts coming from the Canada shore;—and *third*, the superiority of our advantages on the score of a military population lying along the whole northern and lake frontier.

These great moral, physical, and political advantages being undeniable, the continuation of the system of fortifications, on the northern and lake frontier, would involve a useless waste of public money.

The large sums of money expended,

and proposed to be expended on the defensive works extending from Rouse's Point to the Sault of St. Marie, would have been, and will be more beneficially applied to the improvement of the lake harbors and dependent rivers, thus promoting the interests of commerce in time of peace, and affording naval depots for our naval forces in time of war.

By demonstrating that such an application of the public money would directly promote the national defence, not only on the lakes, in substitution of fortifications, but on the seaboard, in aiding the defence by fortifications, much of the opposition entertained, on constitutional grounds, towards internal improvements, would be removed.

Under these views, it is the opinion of the undersigned, that the whole system of fortifications for the defence of the northern and lake frontiers should at once be abandoned, and that no more money be applied even for the repairs or completion of the existing works.

The undersigned, in conclusion, would express his opinion in repetition, that a board of artillery and engineer officers and civilians should be formed, to take into consideration the whole subject of the national defences, as called for by the resolutions of the House of Representatives, passed in the session of 3d March, 1851, and as particularly and searchingly alluded to by the Secretary of War, in his order of 17th April, 1851, with a view to the changes necessary to be made in the "third system of defence," commenced thirty-five years ago, and of the adaptation of the same, *inversely*, to the increased power, political, physical, and moral, of the United States;—the composition of such a board being well calculated to have the whole subject opened fairly and discussed freely, by which errors of opinions, particularly those arising from professional prejudices and interests, would be exposed and corrected, the truth in the premises made manifest, and the good of the common-wealth secured.

Civilians versed in national and international policy, and officers known to be opposed to the system of defence on its present scale, as well as those who have declared in its favor, would cause the *pour and contre* to be fairly stated, and all sophistry and false principles to be detected and discarded.

In the event of such a board being formed, it is suggested that the *ayes* and *noes* on all important questions should be ordered to be taken and recorded.

ART. VIII.—CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE POLICY OF ANNEXATION DISCUSSED.*

THE present and prospective condition of Cuba is one of deep interest. Appearances indicate that Spain cannot long continue to hold possession of that island, unless she changes, and that greatly, her policy in reference to it. Should the Spanish Government extend to the people of Cuba the privileges they so much desire; allow them an equal participation in the offices of honor and profit, instead of bestowing them exclusively upon natives of Old Spain; remove the burdens placed upon commerce, and otherwise modify the harsh features of their present policy, Spain might for years retain possession of the island of Cuba. Nor would she sustain any loss in thus changing her policy, because the increased trade and commerce of Cuba, resulting from a more liberal policy, would more than compensate the Spanish Government for the concessions it might make. But we are apprehensive that Spain will obstinately refuse to ameliorate the condition of that people until a successful resistance shall have been made to the Spanish authorities, and Spain shall have lost her dominion over the island of Cuba. We say we are apprehensive that such will be the result, for we think that if Spain would give to the people of Cuba a wise, liberal and good government, the situation of Cuba would then be better than any which she can occupy under existing circumstances. There are many evils which, we think, would attend a war in Cuba for her freedom and independence, even if she should eventually achieve them, and should ultimately be annexed to our republic. There are many satisfactory reasons why Cuba should not be annexed to the United States, unless it becomes a matter of necessity to annex her in order to prevent

her coming under the control of Great Britain or France. The geographical position of Cuba is such that she must either belong to Spain, become an independent government, or be annexed to our republic. In no event could our government permit her to be acquired by any European power, and any such attempt would necessarily involve the nation making it in a war with the United States. Spain, doubtless, relies greatly upon the assistance which she expects to receive from England and France, in the event of any serious attempt being made to free Cuba from her dominion.

It is said that she has assurances to that effect, from one or both of these governments. Taking the view of the subject which we do, we are constrained to say, that what she considers her greatest security, we regard as her greatest danger. In our opinion, any attempt on the part of England and France to render "permanent the union of Cuba with the crown of Spain," by interfering to prevent hostile enterprises against that island, and by giving assistance to the Spanish authorities in any struggle which may take place between them and the people of Cuba, would only serve to hasten the event which Spain, England and France, all seem so much to dread; that is, the annexation of Cuba to the United States. Although we do not approve of hostile enterprises, undertaken by our citizens against the island of Cuba, either for the purpose of exciting the Cubans to insurrection, or of aiding them in throwing off the Spanish government, and believe that it is the duty of our government to use all proper and necessary means to prevent such expeditions, yet we cannot recognize any right in the English and French governments to establish a "police of the seas," and to interfere for the purpose of having our laws executed. We are capable of managing our own affairs, without any supervision on their part, and we consider any such interference, implying, as it does, a distrust of the good faith of our government, as officious intermeddling with that which does not especially concern them.

*The editor of the Review deems it scarcely necessary to say, that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his contributors. Upon the subject of Cuba, which is now so "uppermost" in every one's thoughts, he is willing it should be fairly and impartially handled. It is certainly one of deep Southern interest, at least. There are many sober truths in the article which follows, but some things again which are not so obvious. So far as the Review is concerned, it is not prepared to take a position now, but will do so soon, in an article of some elaboration.

The orders given by the English and French governments to their naval officers in the West Indies, to prevent hostile expeditions against Cuba, were well calculated to be highly offensive to the United States, and any attempt to carry them into execution would necessarily lead to a collision. Whilst we think that the United States should not interfere in a struggle between Spain and the people of Cuba, even to assist those struggling for freedom, yet we could not and would not permit any European nation to interfere in behalf of Spain. All our sympathies would be with those contending for freedom; and although we could not give them any direct assistance, without violating our most sacred and wisest maxims of policy, and without departing from the examples set us by our ablest, most distinguished, and best statesmen, yet if any other government should interpose for the purpose of crushing the rising spirit of liberty on this continent, we would be in duty bound to put a stop to such interference at the hazard of war, if that were necessary. This is and long has been the American doctrine, and it is well that the governments of England and France should distinctly understand the position we occupy on this subject.

In the event of a revolution in Cuba, our citizens would have the undoubted right, if they saw fit to exercise it, of emigrating to that island and taking part in the struggle, but in so doing they would forfeit the privileges of American citizens, and would voluntarily place themselves beyond the protection of our government. They would have to share the fate of war, and to take their chances of success. They would, if unsuccessful, be at the mercy of the Spanish government, but they would not have incurred the guilt of piracy, nor would they have subjected themselves to the penalties of such a crime. They would in no point of view be responsible to any other government than their own and the government of Spain, and neither England nor France would have any right to intercept them, or in any other way interfere with them. If, however, it is the desire of England and France to involve themselves in a war with this country for the sake of preserving "the union of Cuba with the crown of Spain," they can do so, and upon them will rest the fearful responsibility of so disastrous a war as that would be. Our country does not desire a war with either Spain,

England or France, on account of Cuba, but our rights as an American nation we will maintain. We will not permit any interference on the part of any European government between those struggling for freedom on this continent and their oppressors. We cannot believe that either the government of England or France desires a war with the United States on account of Cuba, for we cannot see how the true interests of any of the parties would be advanced by such a war. Cuba as an independent government, or under the dominion of Spain, with a milder and more liberal policy than she now has, would be of greater benefit to all the great commercial nations of the earth than if she remained in her present condition, or belonged to any of the great maritime powers. If it should become necessary to annex Cuba to the United States in order to prevent its coming under the control of England or France, then we say, let it be done, but in no other point of view do we see that it would be good policy for us to annex it. The most desirable position which, we think, Cuba could occupy, would be that of an independent republic, rich in her tropical productions, having free and unrestricted commerce with all nations, enjoying their friendship and sharing largely in their trade. In this way she would be as beneficial to the United States as if she were annexed, without any of the evils resulting from annexation. We have never been able to see any good reason why Cuba should be annexed to the United States, even with the consent of Spain, and without the hazard of war. Cuba is unlike Texas in almost every respect. Texas was in a great degree uninhabited. Cuba is densely populated. Texas furnished an outlet for overgrowing population. Cuba is already full, and would afford no homes for the enterprising emigrants from the United States. The present slave population, with its annual increase under the humane system of slavery which would follow its annexation, would be amply sufficient for all its wants.* It would not, then, give us an outlet for our rapidly increasing slave population. The people of Texas had laws, institutions, manners and feelings similar to our own. In fact, Texas was colonized from this country. Such is not

* At present there is an annual decrease of slaves. This is owing to the peculiarly harsh character of slavery there now.

the case with Cuba. They are different from us in nearly every respect, and would not easily coalesce with us. Though under the same government, they would remain a distinct people. We can easily see how the owners of land and other property in Cuba would be benefited by its peaceable annexation to this country, but how the sugar-growers of our southern states would be benefited by having the productions of Cuba brought into competition with their own, is what we cannot so easily perceive.

If Cuba can now, with all the burdens which are placed upon her industry, afford to pay the duties upon articles imported into this country, and still compete with our Louisiana planters, how will it be when she is relieved of her burdens and has no duties to pay, as will be the case after annexation? Would it not bring ruin upon the sugar-growers of Louisiana, Texas, and Florida? The lands which are now employed in the cultivation of sugar, would then have to be used in raising cotton—and as a matter of course the quantity of cotton would be increased, and the price diminished. This evil would be increased as we continued to acquire other West India islands; and we think the acquisition of Cuba will lead to the acquisition of other islands in the West Indies. We can see no reason, except its military position, why Cuba should be annexed to this country any more than the other West India islands, and doubtless those who advocate the annexation of Cuba will, after that is accomplished, go in for all the rest also.

One of the principal objections to the acquisition of Cuba is that it will renew in all its fierceness the slavery agitation, which came so near destroying this confederacy. If Cuba is annexed, it being a slaveholding state, the North will insist upon the annexation of Canada. Thus we see the advocates of Cuba annexation at the North are even now in favor of annexing Canada. Are we of the South willing to take Canada for the sake of getting Cuba? This is the true question. So far as the balance of power is concerned, the South will not make much by agreeing to take Canada and Cuba together, whilst in every other respect she will be much injured. Cuba is now, and will perhaps always be, in the hands of the Spanish race, which can never be assimilated to our own. In our acquisitions of territory, our object should be to

acquire unsettled territory, where our population can expand. We want land without people on it, and not land and people together. It is true, we acquired Louisiana, Florida, Texas, California, and New Mexico, but all of these were in a great degree uninhabited, and many reasons existed in favor of their annexation that do not apply to Cuba.

By our present laws, an emigrant from a foreign country is required to remain in this country five years before he can become a citizen of the Republic. The object of this law is to enable him to become acquainted with our Constitution and laws, and to imbibe something of the spirit of our institutions. But the system of annexing thickly populated countries, and granting to the inhabitants immediately the rights of citizens, is not only wild and dangerous, but a new and untried experiment. Are we prepared to naturalize a whole nation at once, without any previous training, and incorporate them into our Union. This would indeed be progress, but it would be progress towards our own destruction. If then there are so many objections to annexing Cuba, even if it could be peaceably done, what are we to think of those who desire to obtain it at all hazards, with or without war. There are men who are ready to engage in war with Spain, France and England for the purpose of acquiring Cuba. It cannot be expected that either England or France would quietly see so great a maritime nation as the United States acquire Cuba, which is said to be the "key of the Gulf of Mexico." The same reasons which would cause us to oppose the acquisition of Cuba by England or France, would cause them to oppose its acquisition by us. Its military position, they may think, is almost as important to them as it is to us, for they also have valuable possessions in the immediate neighborhood of Cuba, and they are extensively engaged in the commerce of the Gulf. They may think that the acquisition of Cuba will be but the first step towards acquiring the whole of the West India islands, and obtaining exclusive control of the Gulf. Such, if we mistake not, is the policy of one of the most active advocates of wholesale annexation. We say then that there is every reason to believe that the acquisition of Cuba would lead to a long, bloody, and disastrous war, ruinous to all the nations engaged in it, and calculated to lead to no beneficial result. Do we de-

sire Cuba at the cost of such a war? We shall not at this time undertake to speculate upon the results of a war between Great Britain and the United States. Suffice it to say it would be disastrous to both nations. We might get possession of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick on the north, and all the West Indies and Mexico on the south; for Mexico would become involved in the war by some means or other. But we cannot see that we would be benefited, if, as the result of that war, we should come into possession of all the continent of North America. Our very acquisitions would become the fruitful source of fearful contentions at home, and bitter would be the fruits which we would reap from our unwise policy. Let us pause and consider well the consequences before

we take the fearful leap. Let the fate of other republics be a warning to us of the dangers of unlimited extension, and of wars of conquest.

We have now indicated what course we think our government ought to pursue in regard to Cuba. This is soon perhaps to become one of the great questions of the day, and it becomes us to examine it in all its consequences thoroughly. What is to become of Cuba is a question of deep interest. We sincerely trust wise measures will be adopted in reference to it by our own and by all other governments connected with it. We fear the conduct of Spain is precipitating events, and bringing upon the civilized world a fearful crisis. May wise counsels yet prevail, and the dangers which surround this question be avoided!

ART. IX.—INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES, STATISTICS, ETC., OF STATES AND CITIES.

FLORIDA—ALABAMA—TEXAS—COLORED POPULATION OF THE NORTH—RICHEST MAN IN VIRGINIA, ETC.

EAST FLORIDA.—The letter of the Hon. E. C. Cabell to T. E. Andrews, Esq., U. S. Consul at St. Johns, N. B., in reference to Florida, which has been lately published, has attracted much attention to that long neglected state. Mr. Cabell in that document gives the reasons and general causes why she has not progressed in population and wealth like other states of the Confederacy.

For the last four or five years, East Florida has been increasing in population, and the condition of her inhabitants in every respect is far better now than it has been since the exchange of flags in 1821. The valuable natural resources of the state are becoming appreciated and developed, and capital to a large amount is now invested profitably in various enterprises. Upon the St. John's River there are now fourteen steam saw mills, turning out over two millions and a half of sawed lumber monthly; besides this, there are many cargoes of ranging and cedar timber, and live oak, making an annual aggregate of about three hundred and fifty cargoes. The extent of timber is incalculable, and this branch of trade is becoming upon the Atlantic altogether confined to Georgia and Florida.

The county of Marion has become the most populous one in East Florida, and is

well repaying the planter for his labor, although the price of land there is high, compared with other counties in the vicinity, and upon the Gulf, where thousands of acres of equally good lands can be obtained at very much less. But the best lands in Florida are yet to be brought out; I mean the cane-brake marshes, on the banks of the St. John's River, for miles. The lands, if properly dammed and planted, would produce sugar, rice, cotton or corn, beyond any land known, and the expenses to prepare it would not exceed those incurred in clearing up a dense hommock.

The outlet for the produce of East Florida, upon the Atlantic side, is chiefly the St. John's River, and the value of the produce, cotton, sugar and tobacco, shipped from it this year, will nearly or quite reach the figure of half a million of dollars. It is but lately that the importance of the trade of East Florida has been known, and at present there is considerable rivalry between Charleston and Savannah to secure it. Until the establishment of the Charleston line last winter, Savannah reaped the chief harvest; but now the trade is tending to Charleston, because it is generally known that for sugar and clean long cotton, Charleston is the best market. The merchants, too, prefer

Charleston, as the stocks there are larger and better assorted than in Savannah.

The greater part of the produce now shipped from the St. John's comes down the Ocklawaka river, or from the Upper St. John's, and is brought to Palatka, where it is re-shipped for its destination. We would suggest to the directors of the Florida steam packet company the propriety of running their boats to Welaka, a place lately established by Col. J. W. Bryant, about 27 miles above Palatka, immediately opposite the mouth of the Ocklawaka, and near Little Lake George. This will facilitate the planters and merchants in receiving and forwarding their goods and produce, and will avoid the risk and delay incident to the river St. John's navigation in pole-boats, from the Ocklawaka to Palatka, a voyage which, at times, from the width of the river in some places, is attended with great delay and much danger. The saving in freight will also be an object, as the steamboats will charge but a trifle more than from Palatka.

Should this arrangement be carried out, Welaka will become a little town, as its natural beauties exceed any place on the whole river, from the mouth to its source, being situated upon a bluff for one mile upon the river, and a growth of large live oaks, hickory, and other forest trees, skirt the bank, while the background runs off in a plateau of pine barren. Very near Welaka, and near the bank of the river, is the Welaka Sulphur Springs, and about two miles from it are the Magnolia Springs, one sulphur and the other magnesia, another salt, magnesia and sulphur, and a third like the first, but supposed to contain chalybeate properties. Circling the three is a spring of pure water from the hills. Game and fish are abundant, and the sportsman can have enough to engage him in any branch of his science.

Persons visiting Florida for health, or in search of lands, entertain very different opinions respecting the character of the state and its inhabitants. The former frequently come out among entire strangers, without letters of introduction, and perhaps may remain a whole winter without receiving any kind civilities or attentions from families; others, more thoughtful, provide themselves the means, and enjoy a delightful visit. And many who seek lands, come without letters, and what is worse, without horses to travel with. The result is, that they go upon a steamboat, or in a stage-coach, and return disgusted with everything. While others

bring good saddle horses, make acquaintances of men who know the country, find pleasant locations on good lands, and become settlers.

The best evidence that Florida repays labor, is the fact that a great many persons have migrated there to relieve themselves from pecuniary embarrassments, and in almost every case, when industry and economy has been practised, the party has become independent.

By the late census, Florida has a population of about 88,000, about half of the number white. It is the third healthiest state in the confederacy. Its crop is greater in quantity of cotton, and aggregate value, than any state in proportion to its population. The average value of its cultivated lands is less than in any other state, being but \$18 per acre. The area of Florida is about 38,000,000 (thirty-eight millions) of acres; a great portion of it has not been surveyed, but, as the Indians will soon be removed (peaceably or by force,) it is thought the best sugar lands will soon be offered for sale which are in Florida.

Hon. J. H. Bronson, Judge of the Federal court, who is now residing at Palatka, or Col. J. W. Bryant, or his agent, J. W. Price, Esq., at Jacksonville, would give any information they are possessed of, if applied to, either personally or by letter; and, without some such information, it is difficult to ascertain facts without much delay or inconvenience.

ALABAMA.—No state in the Union possesses to a greater degree materials for a proud independence, than does Alabama. These materials, however, are yet in a crude state, and nothing but a strong decoction of northern fanaticism will ever bring to light their wealth and beauties.

Experience has taught us, that the more we depend upon the North the less are our chances for a successful competition. For this very dependence takes from our pockets and adds to the wealth of the North, thus depriving ourselves of the means of independence, and making more powerful those upon whom we are dependent.

Cannot cotton cloths be manufactured here as cheap as in Massachusetts? Cannot boots and shoes be made as cheap in Selma as in Lynn? Are there not watering places in the South as conducive of health as Newport or Saratoga? Is there any moral or constitutional obligation binding upon the southern people, which

compels them to support northern manufacturers, and cater to northern fashionables? When the drain upon southern pockets by northern capitalists can be checked and converted into means of enriching the South, ought we not, as sensible men, so convert it? We earnestly solicit the attention of Alabamians to the above queries.

Too much attention is given to the growing of cotton. Let some of the time and means of our planters be devoted to the manufacture of cotton, and there would arise a source of wealth wholly unparalleled in the South, for certainty. It would be not only a source of wealth to those whose money is invested, but to the community at large. For instance, a cotton factory in Selma, on a large plan, such a one as ought to be here, would pay to the stockholders a large dividend—keep in our own community the money that is actually expended in northern markets for the same article—give employment to the poor and industrious, and give Selma more importance than would the gift of a state-house.

Money enough is annually expended by Alabamians at northern watering places and northern cities, in their fashionable summer tours, to build a hundred and fifty miles of rail-road through our state. When this amount of money is left there by one state, what an amount of wealth does the entire South annually leave in northern hands? We are thus furnishing to the hand of an enemy the means of doing us further injury.

Let Alabama but bring to bear the means within her reach, and in a few short years she will bear a proud comparison with boasted Massachusetts. Nature has been bountiful in her gifts to our state. Her soil is productive—her climate salubrious. She abounds with invaluable mines, that require but the hand of enterprise to add to an incalculable degree to our common wealth and importance. The coal beds of Pennsylvania, and its iron ore, have given to that state an importance that she could otherwise never have attained. Yet her natural advantages for the development of these resources are small when compared with those of Alabama. Means of easy transportation are necessary to the successful working of these gifts of nature. Alabama has large, navigable rivers, furnished to use. The face of her country affords every facility for the building of rail-roads. Markets are thus brought

within easy access. Notwithstanding the want of navigable rivers and the ruggedness of her country, Pennsylvania has brought into market her coal and her iron, and showing to the nation and to the world, that her citizens possess in an eminent degree the spirit of enterprise and industry. How long, with all the advantages which God has given her, shall Alabama remain in the background, with her countless millions of wealth buried beneath her soil?

TEXAS.—In our previous articles (says the *Matagorda Tribune*) on this interesting subject, we have endeavored, in as brief a manner as possible, to point out a few of the many inducements our state presents to the emigrant, whether it be the wealthy planter with his large force of negroes, or to the industrious laboring man "who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow."

Texas, even in her present curtailed proportions under the "compromise" act, embraces a wide scope of territory, variety of climate and diversity of productions. She has an area of 400,000 square miles, extending from the 26th to the 36th degree of north latitude, and from 93° to 110° west, a territory sufficient to carve out three or four respectable sized states from. To go into the complete details, then, of the peculiar advantages possessed by each particular section of such a vast extent of country, could not well come within the purview of an ordinary editorial column, even were our information sufficiently extensive thereon to do them all justice. Hence we have necessarily confined our remarks principally to that highly-favored portion of the state embraced within the limits of Middle Texas. Here we may place the rich and inexhaustible valleys of the Colorado, the Brazos and the Trinity, a country unsurpassed for its bounteous productiveness and capability of being rendered the greatest sugar and cotton-growing region in the world. It is here will be centered, in a very few years, a population that must constitute Texas the unmistakable Eureka of America. Here nature has lavished her choicest favors to establish, as far as practicable, something in the shape of a paradise on earth. Here, by a little industry, can the poor man become wealthy, and the wealthy rich. It is certainly a mistaken idea entertained by many abroad, that this portion of the state is only adapted to extensive plant-

ing. It is true that much of the most valuable river bottoms have either been taken up, or are held at such prices not easily attainable by a person of small means; but these are confined to the limits of a near and handy approach to market, and are owned by minors or those who have no occasion for an immediate sale of their property. Beside such, there is an abundance of land throughout the country, equally good, that can be obtained on terms within the reach of any one in the least prepared to engage in agricultural pursuits; and we know of many, and many men, who, but a very few years since, came into the country penniless, and who, by industry and well directed enterprise, are now in competent circumstances. We have seen more instances of the smiles of dame Fortune on the industrious in Texas than we have ever witnessed elsewhere. Indeed, it cannot well be otherwise, for it costs a man comparatively little to live, and all the fruit of his industry is clear gain. Among the principal productions of this section of the state, from its vast richness and highly favored climate, cotton and sugar may be regarded as the leading staples, although we are persuaded that the day is not far distant when a more general diversity of crops will be cultivated and found more profitable. Every day experience goes to prove that the South would be incalculably profited by a more strict observance of this theory. In addition to these staple productions, tobacco can be raised in great abundance, and of the best qualities. From the peculiar qualities of the soil and climate of our sea-coast, resembling very much those districts of Cuba wherein the famous weed is produced to such perfection, we doubt not if proper efforts, aided by experience in the culture, were applied, this portion of Texas might be rendered as famous for its production of the article as that of the country just named. Some specimens from the Havana seed we have seen raised in the vicinity of Matagorda, could not be well distinguished by the most fastidious tastes from the genuine Spanish. So well adapted is this plant to our soil, that in most of our prairies it is found growing spontaneously. But little attention has, so far, however, been paid to its cultivation for the purpose of exportation. Rice might also be made a source of vast revenue to Texas. No section of country can be better adapted to its growth than the islands and the river bottoms of the

Colorado near this town. Dykes could be thrown up, and the periodical overflows, so necessary to its successful cultivation, could be secured at a trifling expense and little labor. Here, in itself, is presented a field of fortune to the industrious and enterprising emigrant. Another no less important source of wealth is presented in the cultivation and manufacture of the article of indigo. The plant is indigenous to this section of Texas, and is found in immense quantities throughout our richly bedecked prairies. With all these invaluable productions to reward the laborious and the enterprising with the golden treasures from foreign shores, the tiller of the soil is also blessed at home with every want, comfort and luxury that nature demands, springing up within his grasp. Truly Texas is the happy hunting-ground the red man has long dreamt and told of in his traditionary tales, and eventually found and realized in all their bright and gorgeous pictures. No wonder, then, that he should cling to it with such tenacious jealousy, and part with it only with the last waning remnant of his tribe. Thus it was the case with one of the bravest and most warlike Indian tribes known, and who inhabited the Gulf shore of Texas. The Karanquahas, after having been conquered by the white man, had no aspirations for another home on earth, beyond her enchanted prairies, and were determined to yield them only with the dying breath of their last warrior; and to carry out a suicidal determination to that end, every female child born after the contest was immediately put to death. That measure, we believe, has been nearly accomplished, but there is scarcely a living monument of this custom now remaining.

THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE NORTH.—The Buffalo Courier has a valuable article on the facts disclosed by the late census in reference to the colored population of this country. Their position in the free states has never been calculated to advance their own interests, or to elevate them in the estimation of those about them. They cluster in the purlieus of our large cities, living precariously and by the performance of the most menial labor, or if they do dive into the bush, or squat upon the prairie, it is to live in filth and indolence, content to chop wood by the cord, or to exact the means of subsistence from the negligent cultivation of four or five acres of land. Partly, no

doubt, in consequence of these circumstances, partly from their general unfitness for the climate and pursuits of northern latitudes, the records show a rate of progress as to numbers which contrasts most strangely with that of the whites by whom they are surrounded, and even with that which prevails amongst their own race in the slave states. The Courier shows that in New-England, where the social condition of the negro has the benefit of a full measure of abolitionist sympathy, his race has not increased as in the South. While the total increase of the whites in New-England has been at the rate of sixty-five per cent. within the last thirty years, that of the blacks has been but 64 per cent. notwithstanding the constant influx of fugitives. As compared with the census of 1840, the census of last year exhibits an absolute decrease. In New-Hampshire, where no attempt has yet been made to catch a runaway, the decrease amounts to about two-fifths of the whole. The following table, showing the number of colored persons in each of the states at the periods to which it refers, we cut from the Courier:

	1820.	1840.	1850.	1855.	1859.	1860.
Maine*	1,813.	1,355.	1,177.	929		
N. Hampshire	477	537	607	783	788	
Vermont	710	730	881	918	271	
Massachusetts	8,773.	8,608.	7,049.	6,740.	16,001	
Rhode Island	3,543.	3,238.	3,558.	3,502.	4,355	
Connecticut	7,415.	8,105.	8,072.	8,009.	5,872	
	22,231	22,633	21,304	20,681	16,067	

Increase of Colored Persons in New-England.

From 1820 to 1850.....	484
From 1830 to 1840.....	1,268

1,752

Decrease from 1840 to 1850..... 402

Net increase in thirty years..... 1,350 or 64 per ct.

White Population in the same States.

	1820.	1840.	1850.	1855.	1859.	1860.
Maine	581,021.	500,438.	308,290.	297,340		
N. Hampshire	317,354.	284,036.	208,721.	243,238		
Vermont	312,756.	291,218.	279,776.	234,846		
Massachusetts	985,498.	729,030.	603,359.	618,419		
Rhode Island	114,012.	105,557.	98,612.	79,413		
Connecticut	363,189.	301,856.	289,603.	267,181		

2,704,729 2,212,165 1,933,340 1,638,435

Increase of Whites in New-England.

From 1820 to 1850.....	294,905
From 1830 to 1840.....	278,825
From 1840 to 1850.....	492,564

Total increase of whites in 30 years..... 1,066,294 or 65 per ct.

* With Massachusetts.

† Including the then province of Maine.

The disclosure of the census relative to the idiocy and insanity of the colored race, in the North, and its comparative exemption in the South, are equally startling. In Maine, every fourteenth colored person is an idiot or lunatic. In Ohio, there are just ten colored persons who are idiots or lunatics, where there is one in Kentucky. And in Louisiana, where a large majority of the population is colored, and four-fifths of them are slaves, there is but one of these unfortunates to 4,309 who are sane; in Massachusetts, 1 in 43; Connecticut, 1 in 186; New-York, 1 in 257; Pennsylvania, 1 in 256; Maryland, 1 in 1,074; Virginia, 1 in 1,309; North Carolina, 1 in 1,404; South Carolina, 1 in 1,250; Ohio, 1 in 105; Kentucky, 1 in 1,053.

These facts go far to exhibit the holowness of many of the ideas which abolitionist orators are fond of inculcating, and at the same time furnish cogent arguments in favor of African colonization.

THE RICHEST MAN IN VIRGINIA.—I have thought, for some time, I would write to your paper something in relation to the richest man in Virginia, and the largest slaveholder in the Union, and, perhaps, in the world, unless the serfs of Russia be considered slaves: and the wish in your paper, a few days ago, to know who was so wealthy in Virginia, induces me to write this now. Samuel Hairston, of Pittsylvania, is the gentleman. When I was in his section, a year or two ago, he was the owner of between sixteen and seventeen hundred slaves, in his own right, having but a little while ago taken a census. He also has a perspective right to about one thousand slaves more, which are now owned by his mother-in-law, Mrs. Ruth Hairston, he having married her only child. He now has the management of them, which makes the number of his slaves reach near three thousand. They increase at the rate of near one thousand every year, and he has to purchase a large plantation every year to settle them on.

A large number of his plantations are in Henry and Patrick counties, Virginia. He has large estates in North Carolina. His landed property in stocks alone is assessed at six hundred thousand dollars. His wealth is differently estimated at from three to five millions, and I should think it was nearer the latter. You think he has a hard lot; but I assure you Mr.

Hairston manages all his matters as easy as most persons would an estate of \$10,000. He has overseers who are compelled to give him a written statement of what is made and spent on each plantation, and his negroes are all clothed and fed from his own domestic manufacture and raising, leaving his tobacco crop, which is immensely large, as so much clear gain every year, besides his increase in negroes, which is a fortune of itself.

And now for his residence. I have travelled over fifteen states of this Union, and have never seen anything comparable to his yard and garden, except some of them in the Mississippi Delta—and none of them equal to it. Mrs. Hairston has been beautifying it for years—and a good old minister, in preaching near the place, and describing Paradise, said it "was as beautiful as Mrs. Hairston's," or as a friend, who had visited Washington city for the first time, remarked, that "the public grounds were nearly as handsome as Samuel Hairston's." Mr. Hairston is a plain, unassuming gentleman, and has never made any noise in the world, though he could vie with the

Bruces, the McDonoughs and the Astors; and it is strange, that while their wealth is co-extensive with the Union, he is not known one hundred miles from home. I believe he is now the wealthiest man in the Union, as William B. Astor is only worth about \$4,000,000, and the estates of city people are vastly overrated, while Mr. Hairston can show the property that will bring the cash at any moment.

Mr. Hairston was raised within a few miles of where he now lives, in Henry county. He has several brothers, who are pretty well to do in the world. One of them, Marshall Hairston, of Henry, owns more than 700 negroes; Robert Hairston, who now lives in Mississippi, near 1,000; and Hardin Hairston, who has also moved to Mississippi, about 600 slaves. George Hairston, of Henry, has given most of his property to his children, reserving only about 150 for his own use.

This, I believe, is a correct statement of the circumstances of the Hairston family; and, for further particulars, and the truth of the statement, I refer you to the present delegate from Henry.

COSMOPOLITE.

ART. X.—AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS.

COTTON STATISTICS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS—COTTON IN TEXAS—SOUTHERN AGRICULTURAL CONVENTION—GRAPES AND VINES AT THE SOUTH—SHEEP AND WOOL GROWING IN TEXAS—GEORGIA AGRICULTURAL FAIR.

In the last few numbers of the Review, we furnished full details of the *cotton statistics of the South* for the past year, in comparison with previous ones. Even with the prospect of enlarged production, the *London Economist* thinks that prices will be sustained at the high figures of last year, and even advanced beyond them. Speculating upon the same subject, a contemporary ventures some judicious reflections which we adopt. An era of great prosperity is evidently pending for our cotton planters, and we wish them every enjoyment from its results.

"The cotton crop of the United States for the year ending August 31, 1852, reached 3,015,029 bales—being 659,772 bales increase upon the crop of the last year, 918,323 bales increase upon the crop of the year preceding the last, and 628,051

bales more than the average crop of the last six years. But the increase of consumption more than kept pace with the increase of production, and hence the price was enhanced and stocks reduced. In September of 1852, the price of cotton was twenty per cent. higher than in September of 1851. But the stocks were much smaller, as appears from the following table:

	Sept. 30, 1851. Bales.	Sept. 30, 1852. Bales.
Great Britain	630,000	590,000
France	39,000	49,000
Remainder of Europe ..	61,000	78,000
	730,000	717,000

We have no exact information of the stock in the United States, but presume it is not greater than at the same period of last year, as the prices in Europe are

higher. This phenomenon of a diminished stock and a higher price, in the face of a largely-increased supply, is accounted for solely by a greatly-increased consumption. In Great Britain the weekly consumption of cotton in 1851 was 31,800 bales; in 1852 the consumption reached about 40,000 bales a week, or 2,000,000 per annum. On the continent there has been a corresponding increase of consumption. The direct shipments from the United States to France in the present year have been 120,017 bales more than in the last, and to other parts of Europe 84,435 bales more. In the United States the consumption of 1850-'51 was 404,000 bales; of 1851-'52 it was 603,000 bales—a conclusive contradiction, by the way, of the pretended distress of the manufacturing interest of this country. Thus it is seen that the increase in the consumption of cotton is greater than the increase in production; and we have every reason to believe that this will continue to be the case. The Economist says, "extensive mills are now in course of erection in Great Britain," and contends that the consumption of cotton there will continue to increase. We know that on the continent of Europe, and especially in Germany, the consumption of cotton is increasing steadily and rapidly; and in the United States, notwithstanding the false alarms of greedy capitalists, the example of thriving factories is daily calling additional spindles into operation. It is not hazardous to assert that during the next twelve months the consumption of cotton throughout the world will continue to increase in an unprecedented ratio. But from the most reliable accounts the supply will not exceed, if indeed it will equal, the supply of 1851-'52. Notwithstanding British experiment in Asia, Africa, and the West Indies, upon the southern states of this Union the world is dependent for its supply of cotton, (the flax substitute being a dead failure.) It is probable, then, that the production of the southern states will be equal to the increased consumption we are led to expect? Will the supply keep pace with the demand? Nobody expects the crop of the present year to exceed the crop of last year, whilst many suppose it will be something less. The probable result of the growing crop is estimated at about 3,000,000 bales by persons competent to pronounce in the matter. Thus, while the consumption increases, the production scarcely remains the same—the supply

lags behind the demand. Hence the well-founded conclusion that the prices of cotton will range higher during the next than during the past twelve months.

It appears that the cultivation of cotton was introduced into Texas in 1822 by Col. Jared E. Groce. This was the very first commencement of cotton planting in Texas. This first cotton plant was in the prairie; after that year Col. Groce planted in the Brazos bottom.

The first year or two Col. G. sold his cotton to some neighbors, but afterwards gave it to the settlers who carried it down the river in flat boats. In 1825, Col. G. put up the first cotton gin in Austin's colony, on the plantation where his son, Col. L. W. Groce, now lives. The first cotton shipped from Texas was in 1831, in which year Col. Groce and Mr. Thomas McKinney took a crop to Matamoras by a schooner from the mouth of the Brazos, which, we believe, was sold for about 62 1-2 cents per pound. After that year Col. Groce and his son, with Mr. Thos. F. McKinney, began to send cotton to San Luis Potosi, shipping it to Tampico and thence on pack mules to its destination. It was of course put up in small bales suitable for packing on mules. This trade was continued until the disturbances between Mexico and Texas broke out in 1835.

Col. Groce at first procured his cotton baling and rope of Mr. Seymour, a merchant in the Red Lands of Eastern Texas; but subsequently he procured these articles from San Felipe.

It is believed there was one cotton gin and only one in Texas before the one erected by Col. Groce, and that was built by Mr. John Cartwright, of the Red Lands.

We referred some time since to an *Agricultural Convention* which was proposed to be held in Macon, Georgia, in October last, and of which we have lately received the proceedings. It will be seen that another convention is recommended on the first Monday in May next. The delegates present in October were:

From South Carolina—Col. Wm. Du Bose, J. W. Harrison, Thos. Smith, Col. A. G. Summer.

From Virginia—Dr. Butler.

From Alabama—Dr. N. B. Powell, Dr. — Cloud, Wm. H. Chambers, R. C. Shorter, Bolling Hall, A. G. McGehee, J. S. Reese, Joseph Hall, Geo. W. Hails,

Elbert A. Holt, R. J. Glenn, Dr. Wm. H. Rives, Peter Ware, Joseph L. Moultrie, Amos Travis, Jr., L. H. Pierce, Wm. O. Ormsby, Wash. Pollard, Mr. Griswold.

From Mississippi—Col. Thos. G. Blewett, Dr. A. N. Jones, John Morton, Dr. W. Burt.

From Tennessee—F. Keith.

From Louisiana—S. Craig Martyn.

From Florida—Col. Williams, Judge McGee.

The convention was organized by calling Dr. D. A. Reese, of Ga., to the chair, and the appointment of Wm. H. Chambers, of Ala., as secretary.

The objects of the convention were explained by Dr. W. C. Daniell, of DeKalb, who also introduced the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the members of the Agricultural Association of the slaveholding states, to be organized as hereinafter recommended, be composed of such citizens of the same, as taking an interest in agriculture, desire to become members thereof; and of delegates from state and local agricultural societies; and from states or parts of states.

Resolved, That such persons as above designated are recommended to convene at Montgomery, Alabama, on the first Monday in May next, and to organize an agricultural association of the slaveholding states, under such provisions as to them may appear best calculated to fulfil the purposes of their organization, which shall hold its meetings, in succession, in all the slaveholding states that may participate in the association.

Resolved, That a committee of correspondence, to consist of seven, be appointed to carry into effect the foregoing resolutions.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the following gentlemen appointed, to compose the committee of correspondence:

Dr. W. C. Daniell, of DeKalb.

Gov. Geo. R. Gilmer, of Lexington.

Hon. Asbury Hull, of Athens.

Hon. Thos. Stocks, of Greensboro.

Hon. Jas. Hamilton Couper, of Darien.

Col. Jas. M. Chambers, of Columbus.

Maj. Joel Crawford, of Blakely.

We have frequently referred to the production of grapes and manufacture of wine in the United States, and noticed elaborately the successful experiment of Mr. Weller, of North Carolina; and Mr. Longworth, of Cincinnati, both distin-

guished vintners. Many valuable hints and statistics upon the subject will be found in our work on the Industrial Resources, &c., of the South and West. Some one who has lately been on a visit to Cincinnati speaks in high terms of Mr. Longworth's operations. We quote his remarks entire.

"The sparkling 'Catawba,' or champagne, is now made here in great quantities from the same grape. The juice which runs from the mashed grapes before pressure is reserved, fermented and ripened with great care, and sweetened with the purest rock candy. It ripens ready for market in about eighteen months. Mr. Nicholas Longworth produced accidentally the first champagne from the Catawba grape in 1842, and immediately erected a building and sent to France for a manufacturer of this species of wine. This year a hundred thousand bottles will be added to his stock. The sparkling Catawba possesses a delicious flavor, and is regarded by many as superior to the most celebrated imported champagne.

"A variety of wines are made from the same grape by keeping separate the 'must' extracted by the different pressings, and a rich, claret-colored wine is produced by fermenting in the skin, which is very palatable when mellowed by age. But the common practice is to put all the must together in the same cask, and thus the whole juice and flavor of the grape remains, imparting to the wine that fine grapy aroma which has established the reputation of the American Catawba.

"The ground selected for a vineyard is usually a hill-side, with a southern aspect, though the vine does nearly as well on an eastern or western exposure. A dry calcareous loam, with a porous subsoil, is the soil best suited to the culture. Many small vineyards are owned by Germans in moderate circumstances, and afford profitable employment for their families. These sell their wine to the more wealthy dealers, who sell it again under their own label, if it proves of good quality.

"Mr. Longworth's wine cellars are the most capacious that have yet been erected, being 105 feet long, an average of 45 feet in width, and 18 high. The wine of each vintage is kept separate in casks, holding from 2,000 to 5,500 gallons each. Several new wine cellars will be built here during the next season.

"Greatly as the manufacture of native wine has increased during the last few years, the supply scarcely keeps up with the increasing demand. All the still wine more than five years old is now out of market, and the 'sparkling' is greedily taken off as soon as it is fit for market. The prejudice which at first existed against it on account of its *nativity* is fast disappearing, and many wine drinkers will use no other."

In volume xiii. of the Review, the subject of *sheep raising and wool* was treated by us at very great length; and from the attention the paper has everywhere received, we cannot question it has been effecting much good. We are determined to continue the subject from month to month, and would be glad to obtain the experiences of our friends. Referring to Texas in particular, the "Wool Grower" enters into some calculations, &c., which are worthy of being preserved. We are free to confess that we consider Texas without a rival for growing wool, unless there is something better in New-Mexico, or California. The sheep now there can be improved at much less cost than we supposed before we saw the wool. By selecting only those of the best wool, a grade of wool will be produced that will bring, if properly washed, from 28c. to 32c. per lb., averaging about 30c. in this market. The fleeces are clean and light, when washed, and make a desirable kind of wool, which is largely sought for by the manufacturers. There were some fleeces which could hardly be called wool. They were from some of the old Mexican sheep, and would pass for goats' hair in almost any market. Still a cross upon them with a good Merino ram, would produce a desirable breed, for the hair would disappear in the cross to a large extent. If, however, a better grade of sheep are plenty and cheap, we should prefer them at even a higher price, because the wool would be worth at least 10c. per lb. more, which would make a very great difference in the profit. According to Mr. Hill's letter, the expense of keeping sheep must be very small. In a large flock it could not exceed 15 cents per head for the whole year, but suppose it should be 20 cents.

We will take a flock of 1,000, and suppose them to be equal to the average of the wool sent to us. Let us see what can be done by a prudent flock master. The account would be—

DR.	
Cost of 1,000 sheep, at an average of \$1 25 per head	\$1,250 00
Cost of expenses of care and keep for the year, at 20c.	200 00
Interest on capital, at 7 per cent.	87 00
	<hr/> \$1,537 00
CR.	
By 3,000 lbs. of washed wool, at 25c. per lb.	750 00
By increase—say 400 lambs, at 75c.	300 00
Gross profits	\$1,050 00
Deduct expense and interest	287 00
	<hr/> Net profits on capital per year.....\$763 00

And this is only a capital of \$1,250. We have made no charge for the use of land, as at present there is a vast range for stock on which nobody pays. We have supposed that the wool-growing was only a branch, and that the other branches paid the interest for any investment that might be made for a house and the other necessary fixtures. To farm it successfully, even their shelter should be prepared, so that during the severe storms of rain and sleet which are common to that country, the sheep should be kept dry. The sheep are very sensitive to wet, and a cold wet storm will injure them very severely. Such sheds need not be very expensive. It is not so much the cold as the wet, that the successful flock master has to guard against. We are satisfied, however, that our estimate of profits is quite too low. But allowing that it is a fair one, what business can any man follow in that state or here that will compare with it?

There is a very curious table made by Mr. Gray, of San Antonio. He shows that on a sheep farm with 500 ewes at the commencement, at the end of ten years the gross value of the wool sold will be \$67,800, the expenses will have been \$15,900. Possible loss, \$10,800, leaving a net profit of \$43,200, while the whole amount of capital at the commencement is put down at only \$890. We think the table erroneous, however, because he has given too large an increase. The price is low, and the estimated quantity of wool is also low. Still the business can be made immensely profitable, and we shall look for a large increase of wool from that region. The farmers may be assured that they can never glut the market, and they may depend upon a rich demand and good prices for all they can raise for the next ten or twenty years. We would rather take our chance in Texas with a flock of two thousand sheep for the next ten years, than in the richest places yet found in California for making money.

The great Fair, which was held in Macon, Georgia, last October, was brilliant in every respect. When we can lay our hands upon the reports of the committees, it will be our pleasure to notice them at length. Mr. Martyn, a gentleman connected with our Review, writes us as follows :

"I have scarcely a word to say of the fair. It was like all other efforts of the same kind. Two or three departments of the exhibition were highly creditable. All agreed that for quality and quantity of real Chinese chickens, the society had much need to be highly gratified. I doubt whether any northern exhibition ever excelled the one in that department. The quantity of stock was considerable, numbering some fine specimens of Devons and other imported breeds. Two or three fine Canadian studs excited much admiration.

"The stock of mules was fine, some of

them being the handsomest I have ever seen.

"Colonel Summer, of South Carolina, exhibited a Thibet sheep, which was of course a great curiosity. He also delivered the address, which was handsomely written, well delivered, and, with perhaps one exception, was highly appreciated by all who had the pleasure of hearing it.

"I regretted to see so meagre an assortment of farming and other mechanical implements—that entire department, both in its higher and lower branches, was extremely deficient. In the fine arts, a few copies of landscapes and a few miserably-executed portraits made up the supply. The floral department was creditable. The fruit department, with the exception of apples, and one or two specimens of pears, was slim enough. The receipts were about \$4,000."

ART. XI.—COMMERCIAL PROGRESS—HOME AND FOREIGN.

COMMERCE OF FRANCE, 1846 TO 1851—CONSUMPTION OF COAL BY SEA STEAMERS—FINANCES AND FOREIGN TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN, ETC.

The imports and exports of France, according to the official values of 1826, have been for six years as follows, in francs:

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF FRANCE.

GENERAL COMMERCE.			
	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1846.....	1,257,000,000..	1,180,000,000..	2,437,000,000
1847.....	1,347,000,000..	1,271,000,000..	2,614,000,000
1848.....	862,000,000..	1,153,000,000..	2,015,000,000
1849.....	1,142,000,000..	1,423,000,000..	2,565,000,000
1850.....	1,174,000,000..	1,531,000,000..	2,705,000,000
1851.....	1,158,000,000..	1,629,000,000..	2,787,000,000

SPECIAL COMMERCE.			
	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1846.....	—	—	—
1847.....	976,000,000..	891,000,000..	1,867,000,000
1848.....	536,000,000..	834,000,000..	1,390,000,000
1849.....	780,000,000..	1,032,000,000..	1,812,000,000
1850.....	781,000,000..	1,123,000,000..	1,904,000,000
1851.....	781,000,000..	1,239,000,000..	2,020,000,000

By this return, which shows the whole inward and outward commerce of France according to official valuation fixed in 1826, and which therefore represent relative quantities rather than values, it appears that the revolution gave a great check to the importations, but accelerated the exports. The special trade, or that

which embraces imports for French consumption and exports of French articles only, has been, it appears, more powerfully affected than the general commerce. The imports declined nearly one-half in the year of revolution, and have never recovered. On the other hand, the exports did not materially decrease in that year, and have since increased 50 per cent, while the general commerce has increased but little. The general consternation and desire to sell in 1847, accelerated the exports, which were further impelled by the 10 per cent. bounty on exports by the government. The proceeds of sales were generally hoarded instead of being invested in produce for manufacture or goods for consumption. The transit trade across France does not appear to have recovered so much. It was as follows :

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1847.....	367,000,000..	280,000,000..	647,000,000
1848.....	606,000,000..	319,000,000..	925,000,000
1851.....	377,000,000..	390,000,000..	767,000,000

This result is owing to the fact that the interior countries of Europe are not so far

tranquillized as in France, for the resumption of industry.

The Philadelphia Ledger, in an article upon the coal trade, furnishes the following information relative to the consumption of coal by sea-going steamers:

New-York being the great centre of coal consumption, inquiry has been directed to that city, with the view of ascertaining the amount of anthracite consumed by steamships, which have so largely multiplied within the last year or two. A gentleman of much experience in the coal business, who has spent a week at New-York, pursuing the inquiry, has left with us his rough notes of facts and observations, from which we learn that the whole number of steamships plying to and from all ports in the United States, (including American steamships in the Pacific, but excluding navy steamships, about sixteen of all sizes,) does not exceed 80. River and Sound steamboats are not counted. The United States coast steamers, including Chagres, &c, all use anthracite. Those on the Pacific use all sorts of fuel, according to the cost. The four Collins steamers take anthracite (Lackawana and Pittston) out, and Welsh bituminous back. The seven Cunarders take Cumberland coal out, and return with Welsh bituminous. The four Bremen and Havre steamers use bituminous, but the Franklin (Havre) tries anthracite this voyage, to test it against Cumberland.

The Nicaragua Company has just contracted for supplies of Schuylkill coal to be delivered this winter at Havana, Nicaragua, East Coast, in St. Juan, Pacific, and Acapulco. The steamers that touch at Kingston, Jamaica, have contracted for 10,000 tons of Heilner and Beckworth, to be delivered at Jamaica this winter. All steamers touching at New-Orleans take in Pittsburgh coal there, because of its cheapness; but those running to Richmond, Va., take in at New-York anthracite for out and return. From the alphabetical register of the insurance companies of New-York, a list of steamers of all kinds has been obtained, from which the following record of the build of steamships that affect our inquiry is gathered, viz:

In 1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	Total.
2	4	11	10	26	13	66
Add Cunard steamships not entered,						7
Whole number of sea-going steamers,						73

Mr. Haswell, U. S. Engineer, furnishes

a list of 78. This gentleman puts the number of steamers now using anthracite in whole or in part, that did not use it in 1850, at 46. He places the average daily consumption of these 46 at 11 tons, or 506 tons daily for all. We will suppose, then, that, viz.: 30 of these use wholly anthracite, 16 half only of anthracite; that their steaming time is 265 days in the year. This would give us for one year, viz.: 30 steamers, consuming each 11 tons for 265 days, and 16 steamers burning 5½ tons for 265 days, making an aggregate consumption of 110,770 tons, as the greatest possible increase from this source. If we even put the working days at 285, and the daily consumption at 15 tons, it would give but 162,500 tons. The whole consumption of anthracite in sea-going steamers, December, 1851, is estimated by another gentleman, intelligent in coal statistics, at 822 tons per diem, working time, say 218,000 tons. The largest figures are too small to aid us much in accounting for the 1,200,000 tons extra mining product of 1851. We have said nothing of river steamers; only of sea-going craft.

The revenue returns of Great Britain, says the Courier and Enquirer, exhibit a singular anomaly in legislation, and demonstrates the inequalities of taxation, especially in reference to the poorer classes of people. Property, with us in the United States, bears the burden of taxation, and contributes mainly to the support of the state governments; while, with our trans-Atlantic friends, the poor man contributes disproportionately to the government revenues, although his labor is not so liberally compensated as it is here. The heads of taxation in Great Britain, which draw so heavily upon the poorer classes, are tea, coffee, sugar, molasses, tobacco, and malt. We condense the table of Annual Revenue for the year ending Sept. 5, 1852, with various subjects of taxation for that period:

Malt.....	£5,035,000
Hops.....	436,000
Sugar and Molasses.....	4,150,000
Tea.....	5,900,000
Coffee.....	444,000
Tobacco and Snuff.....	4,460,000
Soap.....	1,043,000
£21,473,000	
Spirits.....	8,951,000
Wine.....	1,776,000
Corn.....	504,000
Paper.....	934,000
Excise and other licenses.....	1,907,000
Timber, Currants, Silks, &c.....	2,454,000
£37,597,000	

Stamps	£6,520,000
Land Tax	£1,142,900
Window Tax	1,044,800
Other assessed Taxes	1,702,200
	<hr/>
Property and Income Tax	3,769,900
Post-office	5,440,000
Crown Lands	2,422,100
Other ordinary revenue	253,000
	<hr/>
Total revenue for the year	£36,534,000

It will thus be seen that the articles which enter so generally into consumption among the laboring classes, pay over £21,000,000 sterling, or full thirty-eight per cent. of the aggregate revenue of the United Kingdom. Malt liquors form the prominent beverage of the poorer classes, and although tobacco has been heretofore enumerated among the luxuries of the people of Europe, yet it is essentially, among the English, an article of consumption among their poor. The London Quarterly remarks: "It is curious to observe how very largely the revenue of Great Britain depends on what goes into the mouth. * * * The duties of between thirty and thirty-one millions are levied upon articles of universal consumption in England. All but a mere fraction of this may be in some sort regarded as voluntary taxation, so far as the consumers are concerned."

But the most striking feature to us, of

the whole exhibit, is the severe taxation upon one article of American manufacture, to the extent of £4,466,000, or \$22,300,000 annually. Instead of taxing the real and personal property of the kingdom, and the individual incomes, to such an extent as will cover largely the expenditures of the nation, those articles are taxed heavily which enter into the daily consumption of the lower classes.

The following returns are interesting to our American readers, because the increase of American shipping during the years 1850, '51, '52, employed in the English foreign trade, is shown to be fully 33 per cent.—while that of the British shipping increased very slightly, and that of France actually decreased.

The growing importance of the United States in the English foreign trade, is clearly demonstrated in the tables; while the diminished trade with France, Sweden, the German States, Spain, Portugal, &c., is clearly shown.

During the eight months, ending 30th September, the importation of the last three years of tobacco (unmanufactured) into Great Britain, was as follows:

8 Months, 1850	18,109,000 lbs.
8 " 1851	18,157,000 "
8 " 1852	18,553,000 "

VESSLS EMPLOYED IN THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

An Account of the Number and Tonnage of Vessels, distinguishing the Countries to which they belonged, which Entered Inwards, and Cleared Outwards, in the Eight Months ending 5th September, 1852, compared with the Entries and Clearances in the corresponding Periods of the Years 1850 and 1851, stated exclusively of Vessels in Ballast, and of those employed in the Coasting Trade, of the Trade between Great Britain and Ireland.

(Entered Inwards.—Eight Months ended 5th September.)

Countries to which the Vessels belonged.	1850.		1851.		1852.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
United Kingdom and dependencies	11,678	2,538,961	12,209	2,753,315	10,998	2,672,026
Russia	212	50,720	282	78,413	202	60,922
Sweden	253	37,092	393	64,860	352	54,266
Norway	797	130,131	1,194	216,255	1,282	230,806
Denmark	1,295	96,756	1,500	126,288	1,253	98,684
Prussia	680	137,033	976	204,934	698	150,392
Other German States	1,574	158,521	1,382	170,769	1,132	141,005
Holland	914	81,237	810	88,120	849	88,159
Belgium	147	32,860	134	24,822	144	24,354
France	1,701	100,720	1,606	103,139	1,120	62,508
Spain	92	14,069	117	18,943	103	15,246
Portugal	72	7,207	57	7,102	29	3,936
Italian States	168	55,970	491	124,959	233	61,194
Other European States	34	10,117	140	38,782	39	10,583
United States of America	494	382,349	679	543,369	654	556,264
Other States in America, Africa or Asia	5	1,427	5	1,207	3	1,300
	<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
	20,135	3,524,470	21,974	4,565,207	19,031	4,291,775

[Cleared Outwards.—Eight Months ended 5th September.]

Countries to which the Vessels belonged.	Ships. 1850.	Tonnage.	Ships. 1851.	Tonnage.	Ships. 1852.	Tonnage.
United Kingdom and dependencies	12,575	2,779,341	13,028	2,912,251	13,345	3,093,803
Russia	163	43,769	195	54,050	157	44,708
Sweden	246	23,954	297	45,228	315	49,407
Norway	492	78,537	550	81,355	594	84,968
Denmark	1,330	105,522	1,406	126,793	1,433	114,340
Prussia	554	107,624	603	131,235	631	129,311
Other German States	1,382	143,749	1,413	160,802	1,694	191,390
Holland	730	86,664	704	104,880	903	131,476
Belgium	146	34,577	130	25,552	185	30,764
France	1,755	144,819	1,682	139,840	1,656	134,225
Spain	93	14,883	128	19,910	111	16,899
Portugal	37	4,460	38	5,495	32	3,966
Italian States	217	62,140	414	114,730	298	54,300
Other European States	49	13,779	123	33,855	56	15,334
United States of America	499	397,197	645	534,956	625	547,997
Other States in America, Africa or Asia.	5	1,478	5	1,361	4	1,486
	20,299	4,045,501	21,571	4,402,333	21,914	4,634,374

ART. XII.—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

IMPROVEMENTS AT WILMINGTON, N. C.—WILMINGTON AND RALEIGH ROAD—TEXAN RAIL-ROAD SYSTEM—MEMPHIS AND LOUISVILLE RAIL-ROAD—ECONOMY OF RAIL-ROADS AS COMPARED WITH OTHER TRANSPORTATION—RAIL-ROAD AT CHICAGO—ST. LOUIS RAIL-ROAD CONVENTION—TENNESSEE IMPROVEMENTS—RAIL-ROAD STATISTICS OF THE WEST AND NORTHWEST—CAN THERE BE TOO MANY OUTLETS FOR THE TRADE OF THE WEST?—COMPETITION OF LOUISVILLE WITH NEW-ORLEANS IN THE COTTON TRADE.

PASSING through *Wilmington, N. C.*, a few days ago, we learned from Gen. McRae, President of the Rail-road Company, that a line of stages would soon be put on, so as to secure the connection of *Wilmington* with the *Manchester* road, as far as completed, and enable passengers to avoid the sea steamers from *Charleston*, which have been always such a drawback upon this route. The arrangement will shorten the line of travel and greatly promote its comforts.

In *Wilmington* one cannot but be surprised with the evidences of progress and improvement which meet him upon every hand, and the rail-roads which are centering at her door indicate a still brighter future. Handsome residences are multiplying—large stores, extensive mills, and what is of much consequence, the inhabitants have acquired great confidence in the health of the place during the summer season.

If *Charleston* would protect herself effectually from the danger of being thrown out of the line of communication between the North and the South, she must speedily enter upon the construction of the roads which some of her citizens have

suggested, and which we noticed in a previous number.

The *Wilmington and Raleigh Road* shows a gross total of receipts for the year ending 30th September, 1852, of \$510,038. Gross expenditures, \$325,909. Leaving a profit of \$184,128, or deducting interest account, of \$115,898. A dividend of six per cent. was paid on the 12th November.

The people of *Texas* are actively discussing the propriety of an early construction of the *Red River* and *Galveston* road, in which it is expected they will have the sympathies of *New-York*, as in this manner trade will be abstracted from *New-Orleans* in favor of that city. We have before us a letter from Mr. Lincoln, of *Galveston*, in which he recommends a course of action to be pursued by the legislature of the state, which meets in January. The suggestions of this letter are criticised in a letter by Mr. Hartley, also before us, who thinks that the donations of land recommended should be made to the counties; that the bonds should be issued at a lower rate of interest than 10 per cent., etc. etc. But to Mr. Lincoln's views, viz:

"Have the legislature at the next session pass a law increasing her donation, and giving to all rail-roads sixteen sections of land per mile, to each five miles of rail-road that is actually properly made, within the limits of the state, with such restrictions as will prevent corporations from over-charging on freights and passengers.

"Also, a law authorizing counties, cities, towns, &c., upon a majority of the tax payers voting for the same, to issue ten per cent. bonds, and laying a tax to provide for the interest thereon, to such companies as are designated at the time, the companies paying for the bonds in their stock; no county to issue bonds to the company until they have actually finished the road to the borders of the counties so doing, or to such other points as the majority of the voters shall designate.

"The rail-roads receiving the bonds and guaranteeing the principal and interest thereon, (which will make them abundantly safe,) can negotiate north for means to build the roads beyond a doubt; particularly now, when New-York is awake to the importance to her of the rail-road from Red River to Galveston Bay, and the immense amount of trade, now going to New-Orleans by way of Red River, that will be drawn off that route, and be thrown into New-York city by way of Galveston.

"Also, the bonds being issued direct by the counties, and the people of the counties receiving a direct and immediate benefit therefrom, the fear of repudiation will never arise in the minds of the capitalists at the North or in Europe. The rail-roads also being bound for their redemption, and the counties having directly received an equivalent not only in benefit from rail-roads, but stock for their bonds, which stock without any additional aid will be of sufficient value to pay off the bonds, with every prospect of doing more, will give such confidence that I can see no reason why the road will not be put under almost immediate contract.

"Any attempt to force a county, one to two hundred miles from any public improvement, to pay a tax for such purposes, is not democratic, not equalizing benefits, though it may burdens, and will never be submitted to by *Tennians*; it is enough that they give a share of the public lands for such purposes."

A rail-road meeting has been lately

held in *Memphis*, in which a large number of leading citizens took part. The following resolutions were reported by Robinson Topp, Esq.:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting—and we believe of the entire population of *Memphis*—that a direct rail-road route from *Memphis* through the counties of *Shelby*, *Tipton*, *Haywood*, *Gibson* and *Henry*, in *West Tennessee*—thence by the nearest and best route to *Bowling Green* and *Louisville*, is a project of high magnitude, not alone to the counties through which it may pass, but to the whole *Mississippi Valley*.

Resolved, That we hail with joy the energetic movements now being made in the counties of *De Soto*, *Panola*, *Yallobusha*, and *Tallahatchie*, *Mississippi*, for the purpose of constructing a rail-road from this place towards *Grenada*, or *Canton*, *Mississippi*.

Resolved, That we regard the last-mentioned road as a link, and an important one, in the great chain of rail-roads, which must ere long be made from *Louisville*, through *Memphis* to *New-Orleans*, and likewise from *St. Louis* to *New-Orleans*.

Resolved, That we feel deeply concerned in the immediate construction of the road through *Mississippi*, and that the President of this meeting appoint a delegation to the Rail-road Convention, to be held at *Hernando*, on the 29th inst., with a very earnest request that they will attend, and assure their brethren in *Mississippi* that they are identified with them in interest, and that the citizens of *Memphis* and *Shelby county* will do their part towards promoting the construction of said road.

We published some time ago a very able article by Mr. Hewson, of *Tennessee*, illustrated by a diagram, showing the value imparted to lands by rail-road improvement at all distances. We have since seen an article in the *Rail-Road Journal* carrying out the subject in more detail.

It is well known, says the *Rail-Road Journal*, that upon the ordinary highways the economical limit to transportation is confined within a comparatively few miles, depending of course upon the kind of freight and character of the roads. Upon the average of such ways, cost of transportation is not far from fifteen cents per ton per mile, which may be considered as a sufficiently correct estimate

for an average of the country. Estimating at the same time the value of wheat at \$1.50 per bushel, and corn at 75 cents, and that 33 bushels of each are equal to a ton, the value of the former would be equal to its cost of transportation for 330 miles, and the latter 165 miles. At these respective distances from market, neither of the above articles would have any commercial value, with only a common earth road as an avenue to market.

But we find that we can move property upon rail-roads at the rate of one-fifth per ton per mile, or for one-tenth the cost upon the ordinary road. These works there fore extend the economic limit of the cost of transportation of the above articles to 3,300, and 1,650 miles respectively. At the limit of the economical movement of these articles upon the common highway, by the use of rail-roads, wheat would be worth \$44.50, and corn \$22.27, which sum respectively would represent the actual increase of value created by the interposition of such a work.

The following table will show the amount saved per ton by transportation by rail-road, over the ordinary highways of the country.

Table, showing the value of a ton of wheat and one of corn, at given points from market, as affected by cost of transportation by rail-road, and over the ordinary road :

	Transportation by rail-road.		Transportation by ordinary highway.	
	Wheat.	Corn.	Wheat.	Corn.
Value at market..	\$49 50	\$24 75	\$49 50	\$24 75
10 miles.....	49 35	24 60	48 00	23 25
20.....	49 20	24 45	46 50	21 75
30.....	49 05	24 30	45 00	20 25
40.....	49 00	24 15	43 50	18 95
50.....	48 75	24 00	42 00	17 25
60.....	48 60	23 85	40 50	15 75
70.....	48 45	23 70	39 00	14 25
80.....	48 30	23 55	37 50	12 75
90.....	48 15	23 40	36 00	11 25
100.....	48 00	23 25	34 50	9 75
110.....	47 85	23 10	33 00	8 25
120.....	47 70	22 95	31 50	6 75
130.....	47 55	22 80	30 00	5 25
140.....	47 40	22 65	28 50	3 75
150.....	46 25	22 50	27 00	2 25
160.....	46 10	22 35	25 50	75
170.....	46 95	22 20	24 00	0
180.....	46 80	22 05	22 50	—
190.....	46 65	21 90	21 00	—
200.....	46 50	21 75	19 50	—
210.....	46 35	21 60	18 00	—
220.....	46 20	21 45	16 50	—
230.....	46 05	21 30	15 00	—
240.....	45 90	21 15	13 50	—
250.....	45 75	21 00	12 00	—
260.....	45 60	20 85	10 50	—
270.....	45 45	20 70	9 00	—
280.....	45 30	20 55	7 50	—
290.....	45 15	20 40	6 00	—
300.....	45 00	20 25	4 50	—
310.....	44 85	20 10	3 50	—
320.....	44 70	19 95	1 50	—
330.....	44 55	19 80	0.....	—

It will be seen that the value of lands are affected by rail-roads in the same ratio as their products. For instance: lands lying upon a navigable water course, or in the immediate vicinity of a market, may be worth for the culture of wheat \$100. Let the average crop be estimated at twenty-two bushels to the acre, valued at \$33, and the cost of cultivation at \$15, this would leave \$18 per acre as the net profit. This quantity of wheat, (two-thirds of a ton,) could be transported 280 miles at a cost of one cent per mile, or \$3.30, which would leave \$14.70 as the net profit of land at that distance from a market, when connected with it by a rail-road. The value of the land, therefore, admitting the quality to be the same in both cases, would bear the same ratio to the assumed value of \$100, as the value of its products, \$14.70, does to \$18, or \$82 per acre; which is an actual creation of value to that amount, assuming the correctness of the premises. The same calculation may of course be applied with equal force to any kind and species of property.

The following rail-roads it is said are all aiming in the direction of Chicago:

	Miles.
Boston, via Albany, Niagara, Detroit	1000
New-York, via Dunkirk, Toledo	900
Philadelphia, via Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne	800
Baltimore, via Wheeling, Columbus	750
Norfolk, via Cincinnati and Chicago	600
Charleston and Savannah, via Louisville and Indianapolis, Nashville and Evansville	1000
Mobile, via Cairo	900
St. Louis, Alton, Springfield and Bloomington	250
Quincy and Military Tract	200
Rock Island, Peru and Joliet	200
Dubuque, Galena and Chicago	200
Illinois and Wisconsin via Fond du Lac to Lake Superior	400
Lake Shore, Milwaukee and Green Bay	200
	7650

all to be in operation probably in three years.

The convention which was proposed to be held in St. Louis for the construction of a rail-road from the Gulf to Minnesota, was duly held, 150 delegates being present. The Hon. Thomas Benton and Mr. Kennett, mayor of St. Louis, delivered addresses. Among the resolutions passed we note the following:

First, That the individual and social interests of the inhabitants west of the Mississippi River, imperatively demand the construction of a rail-road from the city of New-Orleans to a central eligible point in the Territory of Minnesota, in the direction of the Red River of the North, and with a branch to the Falls of St. Anthony;

said road to pass by the capital of the State of Arkansas, the Iron Mountain and the city of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri, and the valley of the Des Moines River, in the State of Iowa.

Second. That a rail-way thus uniting the fertile valleys and productive prairies of the extreme northern territory of the United States with the Gulf of Mexico, is eminently national in its character, and, therefore, justly entitled to assistance from the general government.

Third. That the act of Congress granting public lands in aid of the Illinois Central and Mobile and Ohio Rail-roads, gives additional strength to the claims of the states west of the Mississippi to a similar grant in aid of the Mississippi Valley Rail-road; for it would be unjust on the part of Congress to refuse assistance to establishing commercial facilities on this, after doing so much to encourage similar works on the other side of the river.

Sixth. That the meeting of this convention affords a proper occasion for those of whom it is composed to urge upon Congress the necessity of adopting immediate measures in view of the certain and speedy construction of the Great Central Pacific Rail-road—a grand national project calculated to unite the interests and advance the prosperity of every part of the republic; and secure by the shortest and most economical route, upon our own soil and through the heart of our own country, safe and uninterrupted communication between its distant borders on the shores of the two great oceans,—a project worthy of the age in which we live and of the American people, who would speedily accomplish this glorious enterprise, if sectional jealousy and conflicting interests could be reconciled, and the national mind concentrated upon its achievement.

Congratulating the South upon the progress of this rail-road spirit, the Mobile Advertiser remarks: "Our own great enterprise, the Mobile and Ohio Rail-road, has no doubt had a great influence in awakening this spirit. It certainly was the main impulse which started New-Orleans from her lethargic slumbers, and caused her to enter into the competition for the trade of central Mississippi and the Tennessee Valley. As matters are now progressing, we have unquestionably the advantage, as we had the start, of our mammoth rival. The two great enterprises, which are being rapidly carried

on by our people—the one we have mentioned and the one from Selma—will penetrate the rich regions of Northern Mississippi, North Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky, before the New-Orleans and Nashville road can be pushed to those quarters. This will give us a decided advantage in securing the trade."

We are obliged to Mr. Hewson for a copy of his valuable letter to the Legislature of Tennessee, upon the subject of the improvement of that state. In the extract which follows he marks out the centres of industry there:

"The industrial geography of Tennessee is marked very distinctly; the bread-stuff region centering at Nashville, the cotton region at Memphis; the great Illinois coal basin running down into the western section of the state, while the whole extent of Eastern Tennessee is traversed in a north and south direction by the great Apalachian coal measures. These few facts define clearly the trade-centres of the state, and also the system of roads by which those trade-centres may be drawn together in the best manner to subserve the purposes of varied production. In the west the manufacturing interests of Tennessee are seated at the nearest edge of the coal-fields to the corn of Nashville, and the cotton of Memphis; in the east the manufacturing interests of the state are situated at that point of the Apalachian coal-fields, which lie most convenient to the supplies of both provisions and cotton from Nashville."

The rail-roads at present projected in the West reach ten thousand miles, two thousand of which are nearly completed. It is said that Pennsylvania, Central, and the Baltimore and Ohio roads will be fed by the following western roads:

IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

The Hempfield road, Greenburg to Wheeling...	78
Pennsylvania and Ohio road from Pittsburgh,	
west	44
Pittsburgh and Steubenville road	35
Total in Pennsylvania	157

IN OHIO.

The Ohio and Pennsylvania state line to Crest-line	136
Cleveland and Pittsburgh	99
Columbus and Wheeling	150
Cincinnati, Circleville, and Zanesville	130
Little Miami, Cincinnati to Springfield	64
Columbus and Xenia	55
Cincinnati and Dayton	60
Cincinnati, Belpre and Wheeling	250
Central Ohio, Columbus to Steubenville	175
Dayton and Western	40

Internal Improvements.

Bellefontaine and Indianapolis	113
Ohio and Indiana, Crestline to state line	113
Greenville and Miami	30
Eaton and Hamilton	37
Cincinnati to St. Louis	22
Springfield and Columbus	35

Total in Ohio

IN INDIANA.

The Indianapolis and Lawrenceburgh	90
Indianapolis and Bellefontaine	63
Indianapolis and Terre Haute	72
Lafayette and Indianapolis	70
Central Indiana, Dayton to Indianapolis	72
Madison and Indianapolis	55
Cincinnati and St. Louis	163
Hamilton and New Castle	40
New Castle, Logansport and Chicago	174
Ohio and Indiana, state line to Fort Wayne	18
Shelbyville, Knightstown and Muncietown	73

Total in Indiana

IN ILLINOIS.

The Sangamon and Morgan	54
Cincinnati and St. Louis	150
Terre Haute and Alton	160
Terre Haute and Springfield	150

Total in Illinois

IN MISSOURI.

The Pacific Rail-road, St. Louis to Independence	300
Hannibal and St. Joseph	300

Total in Missouri

IN KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE.

About	500
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RECAPITULATION.

Western Pennsylvania	157
Ohio	1,594
Indiana	941
Illinois	514
Missouri	600
Kentucky and Tennessee	800
Total	4,536

This is the superstructure of the two single tracks from Philadelphia and Baltimore. Depending on the New-York channel there will be—

IN CANADA.

The Great Western Rail-road	270
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IN MICHIGAN.

The Michigan Central	226
Michigan Southern	133
Michigan Southern Branches	45
Detroit and Pontiac	25

Total

IN OHIO.

The Cleveland, Painesville and Ashtabula	75
Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati	135
Toledo, Norwalk and Cleveland	96
Junction Rail-road, Cleveland to Maumee	120
Erie and Kalamazoo, Toledo to Adrian	33
Northern Ohio, Toledo to State Line	70

Total

IN INDIANA.

The Northern Indiana	165
----------------------------	-----

IN ILLINOIS.

The Galena and Chicago	132
Aurora Branch and Extension	60
Rock Island and Chicago	150
Central Military Track	84
Jonesville and Chicago	78
Lake Shore	40

Total

IN WISCONSIN.

The Lake Shore	40
Jonesville and Fond du Lac	90
Milwaukee and Mississippi	170

Total

RECAPITULATION.

Canada	370
Michigan	431
Ohio	229
Indiana	165
Illinois	574
Wisconsin	300

Total

This is the extension of the five New-York tracks. In addition to these, there are the following North and South roads:

IN OHIO.

Columbus and Lake Erie, Newark to Mansfield	641
Mansfield to Sandusky	56
Mad River and Lake Erie, Dayton to Sandusky	191
Dayton and Michigan, Dayton to Toledo	150
Portsmouth and Chillicothe	45
Seloto and Hocking Valley, Portsmouth to Newark	110

Total

IN INDIANA.

Indianapolis and Peru	78
New Albany and Salem	345
Jeffersonville and Columbus	68
Evansville and Vincennes	90
Vincennes and Terre Haute	56
Fort Wayne and Muncietown	65
Goshen and Peru	45

Total

IN ILLINOIS.

Illinois Central	640
Springfield and Alton	78
Fox River Rail-road	45

Total

RECAPITULATION.

Ohio	603
Indiana	737
Illinois	757
Total	2,087

A very able writer in the Rail-road Journal, discussing the inland commerce of the Mississippi, silences all fear of rivalry and competition in rail-roads, in showing that, do the best we can, in no event can transportation, in the next ten years, come up to the demands of production in this glorious granary of the world, called the "American Valley."

The views of the writer are sound, and have been frequently insisted upon by us in rail-road addresses, especially in an address at the Virginia Improvement Convention last summer. He says:

"In concluding this subject, the question naturally suggests itself: if such has been the progress of our inland commerce during the past thirty years, what is to be its future? If such results have followed the partial opening of the resources of the new states by water routes, what is to follow the perfect exhumation of the interior of all the states by means of the iron tracks which are to act as feeders to the great Northern and Southern water routes? The year 1860 will dawn upon an internal traffic in the United States valued at no less than \$1,800,000,000, including lake, canal, river, and rail-way. And there will be but little rivalry between the different routes. They will work harmoniously together, mutually assisting each other, and all will be fully occupied. The immense heavy products of the Southwest will continue to float down the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico, in great profusion and increase. Much has been written and said of turning the tide of the Mississippi trade north. Above certain lines, where the distance is greatly in favor of the Northern route, some of the present trade, and perhaps all the increase, will take the Northern route during the season of navigation. But the increase of trade south of those lines which will be induced by the opening of projected improvements, will far exceed the amount diverted. The strife now exhibited in procuring means for diverting trade from existing routes will disappear, in the inability to carry off the augmentation. Suppose the Mississippi and the Northern water routes now to have a 'total movement' of 10,000,000 tons, which is probably not very wide of the mark, how many rail-ways like the Erie, Northern, and Baltimore and Ohio, will it take to carry the present tonnage. And how long will it take to construct them? It would require ten rail-ways, each, with double tracks stretching from Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, to New-Orleans, via the Mississippi valley and the Lake Basin, making at least 40,000 miles of track which would cost at least \$600,000,000, and take ten years to build. In the mean time, our commerce would have doubled twice, crowding both water and land routes to their full capacity. So this will not do. Our canals in New-York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois,

must be enlarged, within the next ten years, to a capacity which will admit boats to pass drawing six feet of water, with steam for a propelling power, and stowage for 2,000 bbls. of flour. Freight must be handled by steam, and transit expedited in all possible ways by water. Rail-ways will feed water routes with freight from the interior, the through lines carrying express freight of a light and costly character, and passengers. At least such are our conclusions from the foregoing promises. The great united Northern and Southern routes must always continue the great highways for the products of the interior, upon which they will be exchanged among the states, and the surplus finds its way to the seaboard. By them the Northeast and Southwest will be for ever united, while the numerous iron ways intersecting them at various points, will weld together all the various interests of the several states, in such a bond of union as will prove for ever inseparable."

Louisville, if we may judge from the tone of her papers, expects to become the formidable rival of New-Orleans, and to carry off the palm in the contest for western trade. The *Courier*, in particular, thinks that Louisville will have the forwarding of all the tobacco and all the cotton as far south as Memphis, and that Baltimore will become the mart for these products. The opinion is predicated upon a circular issued by Messrs. Webb, Rowland & Co., of Louisville, to the following effect:

<i>Sales "Pro Forma" Louisville.</i>	
100 bales cotton, 50,000 lbs. at 10c.....	\$5,000 00
<i>Charges.</i>	
Freight from Tennessee River, Nashville, or Memphis.....	\$100
Marine Insurance $\frac{1}{2}$ per ct.....	25
Fire " per month $\frac{3}{4}$ per ct. 25	
Storage, labor, drayage, &c.....	50
Commissions, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per ct.....	125 325 00
	4,675 00
New Orleans proceeds deducted.....	4,500 00
	125 50
<i>Sales "Pro Forma" New-Orleans.</i>	
100 bales of cotton, 50,000 lbs. at 10c.....	\$5,000 00
<i>Charges.</i>	
Freight from Tennessee River.....	\$200
Marine Insurance, 1 per ct.....	50
Fire " per month $\frac{3}{4}$ per ct. 25	
Storage, labor, drayage, &c.....	50
Commissions, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per ct.....	125 450 00
	\$4,530 00
Proceeds in excess favor of Louisville.....	125 00

The above table shows clearly that a shipper on the Tennessee River realizes one hundred and twenty-five dollars on a sale of 100 bales cotton, made in Louis

ville, over New-Orleans, at the same rate—adopting the same commissions and incidental charges. This gain, it will be perceived, is in freight and river insurance.

Sales "Pro Forma" Baltimore, received from Tennessee River via Louisville.

100 bales cotton, 50,000 lbs. at 11½c.....\$5,750 00

Charges.

Freight to Louisville.....\$100 00
Drayage, &c. at Louisville..... 10 00
Insurance from Tennessee River to Baltimore, 1 per ct..... 57 50
Fire Insurance ¾ per ct..... 28 75
Storage, drayage, &c., 50c. per bale..... 50 00
Freight from Louisville to Baltimore, ¾ per ct..... 250 00
Commissions, 2½ per ct..... 143 75 640 00

Proceeds.....5,010 00

Sales "Pro Forma" Baltimore, received from Tennessee River via New Orleans.

100 bales cotton, 50,000 lbs. at 11½c.....\$5,750 00

Charges.

Freight to New Orleans.....\$200 00
Drayage at New Orleans..... 50
Insurance from Tennessee River to Baltimore, 2½ per ct.....159 38
Fire Insurance ¾ per ct..... 28 75
Storage, drayage, labor, &c..... 50 00
Freight from New-Orleans to Baltimore 250 00
Commissions 2½ per ct.....143 75 851 88

Excess in favor of Louisville route.....4,708 12
211 88

The above is to contrast the advantage of the Louisville and Baltimore, and Ohio rail-road route, over the old route, via New-Orleans; and we should add that the difference in time in favor of Louisville is about one month—one-half per cent. interest.

Let us next show the dealers and manufacturers of western New-York, Pennsylvania, together with those of Baltimore, Philadelphia and New-England, upon what grounds we advocate Louisville as a cotton market, to draw a part at least of their supplies from; and in making this exhibit, the shipper to this market can see at the same time *why* this is to be his best "home market." We make a "pro forma" invoice of 100 bales purchased in Louisville and New-Orleans, at 10c., for account of, say a manufacturer in Baltimore:

Invoice of 100 bales Cotton purchased in Louisville.

100 bales, 50,000 lbs. at 10c.....\$5,000 00
Drayage..... 6 25
Insurance to Baltimore ¾ per ct..... 31 25
Discount on draft 60 days \$5,500, to pay for same, 1 per cent..... 55 00
Freight from Louisville to Baltimore, via Wheeling and Louisville line, and Ohio & Baltimore Rail-road, 50c. per 100 lbs..... 250 00
Loss in interest from the day purchased to the day delivered in Baltimore, 10 days..... 9 17
Commission for purchasing, negotiating and shipping—50c..... 50 00

Difference in favor of Louisville.....5,401 67

223 95

5,625 62

Invoices of 100 bales Cotton purchased in New Orleans.

100 bales, 50,000 lbs. at 10c.....\$5,000 00
Drayage and shipping..... 25 00
Marine Insurance 1¼ per ct..... 62 50
Discount on draft, 60 days \$5,500, to pay for same, 2¼ per ct..... 121 25
Freight, ¾c..... 250 00
Commission, purchasing, negotiating, &c., 2½ per ct..... 125 00
Loss in interest from the day purchased to the day delivered in Baltimore, ¾ per ct..... 41 87

5,625 02

Thus it will be seen that the northern or Baltimore manufacturer saves by buying here, in place of purchasing in New-Orleans, \$223 95 on 100 bales, while at the same time the shipper obtains here \$125 more on his 100 bales than he realizes in the great southern market. So decidedly does it appear to the interest of the Baltimore consumer in future to look to this market for a large share of his wants, in this staple, and it is reasonable to say that he can afford to pay more here than in the market named, and *here then* is a further advantage to those who consign to this market. Further, let us see what advantage the foreign exporter of Baltimore and the European operator will have in buying here at the half-way house, between the northern and southern seaboard, over New-Orleans, at the same first cost.

"Pro Forma" Invoice of 100 bales Cotton purchased in Louisville for account of Liverpool.

100 bales, weighing 50,000 lbs at 10c.....\$5,000 00
Drayage..... 6 25
Insurance to Liverpool, 1½ per ct..... 75 00
Discount on draft, 60 days on Baltimore, to pay for same, 5,500 at 1 per ct..... 55 00
Freight from Louisville to Baltimore ¾c..... 250 00
Loss of interest from the day of purchasing in Louisville to the day of delivery in Liverpool, 40 days, is..... 36 67
Commission, purchasing and shipping, 50c. Drayage and shipping at Baltimore..... 25 00
Freight from Baltimore to Liverpool at ¼d or ½c..... 250 00

5,748 02

In favor of buying at Louisville..... 103 73

"Pro Forma" Invoice of 100 bales Cotton purchased in New-Orleans for account of Liverpool.

100 bales weighing 50,000 lbs at 10c.....\$5,000 00
Drayage and shipping..... 25 00
Marine Insurance 1½c..... 87 50
Discount on draft 60 days on Baltimore to pay for same, 5,500 at 2¼ per ct..... 121 25
Freight ¼d or 1 cent..... 500 00
Commission for purchasing and negotiating 2½ per ct..... 125 00
Loss in interest from the day of purchase to the day of delivery in Liverpool, 60 days..... 55 00

5,913 75

From the above table (and it is correctly stated,) the party buying here for foreign account saves, on 100 bales, \$165 73, or about 3¼ per cent.

ART. XIII—GALLERY OF INDUSTRY AND ENTERPRISE.

MAUNSEL WHITE, MERCHANT, OF NEW-ORLEANS.

22111 a Portrait.

No. 26.

THE name of Maunsel White has been familiar in New-Orleans during the whole period of its American history, and he has ever sustained the reputation of a good man, a useful citizen, an enterprising and irreprouachable merchant. His commercial operations have indeed given him high position throughout the whole Valley of the Mississippi.

Col. White arrived in this country from Ireland in early youth, and reached New-Orleans in 1801, when it was hardly more than a respectable village, and when only scattering settlements were to be found on the waters of the Ohio or the Mississippi as low down as Point Coupee.

If we had the materials for a full biography, it would hardly be necessary in New-Orleans, where Col. White is so well known, to give it. He was at an early period member of council, and head of the Finance Committee, and in that capacity suggested the plan which has worked so well of making property contribute to the expense of paving the streets, and also a plan for protecting the city from inundations. Had the latter been adopted, our subsequent insecurity and losses would have been prevented. As head of the Finance Committee, Col. White was succeeded by our worthy citizen, Samuel J. Peters, to whom he pointed out treasury errors, which that gentleman with characteristic zeal investigated, exposing in the result some very serious defalcations. In 1846, Col. White was elected to the Senate from the Parish of Plaquemine, and served during four years, occupying prominent positions on the Committees of Finance and Commerce, and very frequently the Presidency, *pro tem.*, of the body. He was appointed by Governor Johnson one of the administrators of the University, and has served ever since very faithfully and assiduously, donating liberally to the institution, as we have had occasion to mention before.

During the invasion of Louisiana by the British, Col. White, at the head of one of the city volunteer companies, repaired to the standard of Gen. Jackson, and was present in most of the engagements which conferred so much honor upon that officer, and upon

our gallant citizen soldiery. General Jackson, to the close of his life, remembered kindly, and often adverted to the services of Col. White, there having sprung up on the battlefield an acquaintance between them which ripened into a friendship long and uninterrupted. Perhaps one of the very last letters written by the old hero was to Col. White.

Col. White married into the family of the late Gen. P. De La Ronde, who was also an intimate friend of Gen. Jackson.

In all the purposes of public improvement and reform which for the past few years have been attracting so much attention in New-Orleans, no one was more enlightened and active than Col. White. As President of one of the Rail-road Conventions, and as Chairman of the Executive Committee afterwards, his course gave the most entire satisfaction, and was highly commended. Had not financial reverses come upon him at this juncture, his subscriptions to public improvements would have equaled that of any citizen of Louisiana.* He was an early and consistent advocate of the consolidation of the Municipalities, and supported the new Constitution of the State, as a measure indispensable to her prosperity, though requiring many amendments.

The charities and good offices of Col. White have been numerous, and many there are who will treasure his memory long after his place shall have become void among us. It is not fitting to mention them here. Our worthy citizen has long experienced, and we hope long will, that—

"What nothing earthly gives or can destroy,
The soul's calm sunshine and the heartfelt joy,
Is virtue's prize."

* Col. White has again resumed commercial business. In a note which we received from him last summer, and from which we take the liberty of extracting, he says: "I am now working silently, and I think surely, to the accomplishment of my views, viz: the payment of all the debts due of the late firm, and the collection of the debts due to them. Full of confidence in my own integrity, and with the blessing of God, I made up my mind to bring everything I had under the hammer. The result is, that peace of mind which no merely worldly prosperity could ever give." The least the papers who published the *suspension* could do would be to publish the *resumption* also.

ART. XIV.—EDITORIAL—LITERARY—MISCELLANEOUS, ETC.

FAIR OF SOUTH CAROLINA INSTITUTE—HINT TO SUGAR PLANTERS—SLAVERY AND FANATICISM—VIRGINIA RAIL-ROADS AND CANALS—POEM ON THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER—HEALTH OF NEW-ORLEANS AND CHARLESTON—YELLOW FEVER—OPERATIONS IN REMOVING THE OBSTRUCTIONS AT THE BAR OF CHARLESTON AND AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI—NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, ADDRESSES, ETC.—EDITORIAL NOTES, ETC.

WE had the pleasure of attending, in November last, the great *Fair of the South Carolina Institute*, at Charleston, South Carolina. Many of the prominent gentlemen of that and the neighboring states were present, and the exhibition of agricultural and mechanical products was in the highest degree interesting and creditable. A special building was erected for the purposes of the exhibition, which for more than a week was crowded, night and day, with the intelligence, wealth and beauty of the city. But for the unhealthiness of the past season in Charleston, the attendance and exhibition would have been much larger. We cannot doubt that the most beneficial and permanent results will accrue from the action of the association.

The list of articles on exhibition numbered about 300. We saw ladies' work, gins, manufactured cloths, carriages, cotton gins, paintings, guns, glass work, shell work, boots and shoes, hats, baskets, saddles, boats, stoves, stationery, paper, iron work, olive oil, rope, gunnery, rice, sugar, cotton, horses, colts, calves, pigs, dogs, sheep, steam-engines, &c., in great variety and of various excellence. The poultry exhibition was never equalled before in the southern country; and from its variety, rarity and extent, afforded delight to every one.

During the fair, several regattas took place in the harbor, which were witnessed by tens of thousands of the citizens, who crowded every wharf and every window fronting upon the broad bay which stretches out from the battery. Charleston seemed, indeed, in her holiday clothes. So much life and excitement was hardly witnessed before.

The annual address was delivered by Edwin Ruffin, Esq., of Virginia, a gentleman long and favorably known to the agricultural world. It was able and practical, and appears in another part of the present number of the Review. Mr. Soulé, of Louisiana, was also expected to take part, but business prevented his appearance, which was a serious disappointment to his thousands of friends and admirers.

At the complimentary dinner given to Mr. Ruffin, speeches were delivered by that gentleman, and also by J. H. Couper, and Judge Whitwell of Georgia; Hon. R. F. W.

Allston, Hon. Isaac E. Holmes, William Gregg, Professor Holmes, Mr. Pressly, Mr. Hart, Mr. Lawton of Charleston, and J. D. B. De Bow of Louisiana. The occasion was one of great hilarity, and will long live in our memory. Success to the noble movement which our friends in Carolina are making for the promotion of southern industry, and may its influences extend far and wide. We shall recur to the subject again.

A friend in Louisiana has sent us the certificate of a sugar planter, of British Guiana, Isaac Henry, Esq., as to some matters of practical application there in regard to the *sugar crop and sugar machinery*, which he thinks may be of use to our planters. The character and standing of Mr. Henry, and his experience as a planter, are vouched for by the American consul resident in Guiana. The gentleman who sends us the certificate is prepared to execute orders for the machinery, dippers, &c., and to set the double batteries, flood-gates, &c. The certificate is as follows:

"PLANTATION LA PENITANCE,
"County of Demerara, British Guiana,"
"16th Sept., 1852."

"By request of Mr. G. de Bretton, of Louisiana, I hereby certify that the double batteries in use on this plantation, as well as on most of the other sugar plantations in this country, possess several important advantages above the old mode of single batteries. In the first place, the two fires meeting under the other kettles, causes a much greater ebullition, and, consequently, a greater evaporation. Secondly, There is a great saving of fuel and labor, as one set of kettles with double batteries will almost do the work of two sets with single batteries, in consequence, as above stated, of the fire from both batteries concentrating under the other kettles in the train. Thirdly, The cane juice being a shorter time exposed to the action of the fire, the sugar is, therefore, of a much fairer quality.

"I must also certify as to the utility of the sugar dipper in use on this estate, as well as on all others throughout this country. In fact, they are indispensable, where double batteries are used, and is an invention of much importance, as they take off the whole

strike of sugar at once, and all of the same consistency, causing thereby a less quantity of molasses.

"The above are great improvements in the manufacture of Muscovado sugar, and worthy the attention of sugar planters."

We continue to receive, through J. B. Steel, the numbers of Lippincott, Grambo & Co.'s edition of *Sir Walter Scott's novels*, which are printed in beautiful style and on fine white paper, with illustrations. The work will be published in 24 parts, semi-monthly, each containing a complete novel. We have now before us *Rob Roy* and the *Black Dwarf*. From the same house we received *Wild Western Scenes*; or, *Adventures in the West*, with humorous designs—embracing exploits of Daniel Boone, bear, deer and buffalo hunts, conflicts with savages, wolf hunts, &c. Mr. Steel also sends us the *History of the Mormons*, or *Latter Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake*, by Lieut. Gunnison, of the Topographical Engineers. The work, in treating of the rise, progress, doctrines, &c., of this singular order, and of the country which they inhabit, is one necessarily of great interest, and will receive more elaborate attention from us hereafter. We make the same remark in regard to *Cassiday's History of Louisville from the earliest settlement till 1852*, which Mr. Steel has kindly furnished us. It is a carefully prepared work, covering a wide and interesting field, valuable in facts and statistics, and affording material for quite an interesting article which we shall furnish.

Mrs. Eastman has written, perhaps, the very best answer to that gross libel upon the South, denominated "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*." She has entitled her work *Aunt Phillis' Cabin, or, Southern Life as It Is*; and has furnished many admirable and truthful pictures, contrasting the slave of the South with the free laborer of other countries. The work is already popular, but can we expect the remedy to extend as far as the poison has so quickly gone? If any one will prepare for us a review of this new class of literature which is springing up, and of which Mrs. Stowe's work was the precursor, we shall be most pleased to publish it. Indeed, if time admits, and nobody else will undertake the task, we almost feel determined to set about it ourselves. Mr. Thompson, of the *Literary Messenger*, Richmond, has set the example by preparing for his own journal a most triumphant vindication of the South. In the preface to Mrs. Eastman's book, she says of abolitionism: "Born in fanaticism, nurtured in violence, it exists. Turning aside the institutions and commands of God, treading under foot the love of country, despising the laws of nature

and the nation, it is dead to every feeling of patriotism and brotherly kindness, full of strife and pride, strewing the path of the slave with thorns, and of the master with difficulties—accomplishing nothing good, forever creating disturbance."

A friend in Virginia has kindly sent us a circular, showing the liabilities and resources of Lynchburgh, from which we perceive that the liabilities reach \$398,990, of which \$50,000 was for the water works, \$52,000 for James River Canal, \$283 for Virginia and Tennessee Rail-road Company. The resources of the city are valued at \$387,620. Upon the subject of the *James River Canal*, the circular says:

"This work is finished to Buchanan, a distance of 196½ miles from Richmond. When time and experience shall have proven the fallacy of making state interests subservient to federal politics, and sectional jealousies shall have given way to a desire for the general good, this great work will be sustained and pushed forward as the main artery of the state, on whose capacious tide the immense tonnage that lies land-locked in the region it was designed to penetrate, will be borne through the centre of the state to the sea-board. Then will this work take its true position, and its stock approximate that due appreciation which time will and must give it. The tonnage and travel have greatly increased during the present year; and when the North River improvement is completed, and the Virginia and Tennessee Rail-road, stretching one arm towards Tennessee, and the other towards Kentucky and Ohio, shall begin to attract the immense tonnage of those regions, there is every reason to anticipate a very large increase of its annual revenues—especially if enlightened policy shall dictate a judicious revision of its present tariff of tolls. The capital of this company is \$5,000,000, three-fifths of which is owned by the State of Virginia.

In regard to the *Virginia and Tennessee Road*, we have the following: (Will not gentlemen in Virginia complete our information upon the rail-road system of that state?)

"Fifty miles of the most difficult part of this road have been completed and equipped, and an additional ten miles (to Salem) will be finished by the 1st day of December. It has already passed the Blue Bridge, is laid with a heavy U rail, and when completed, will extend from Lynchburgh to the Tennessee line, a distance of 205 miles, where it will connect with other improvements of a like character, extending to Memphis on the Mississippi river, thus affording, when the South-side and Petersburg and Norfolk Rail-roads are completed, a continuous line of communication from Norfolk, Richmond and Petersburg

to Memphis, and that through the portion of our state most remarkable for its fertility and agricultural products, and the abundance of its water-power for manufacturing purposes: not to speak of the magnificent cabinet of minerals which Nature, from her vast laboratory, has deposited along the route selected for this road, and which, like the treasures in the cave of the Genii, remains hid from mortal sight, only awaiting 'the tramp of the iron horse' to cause the charmed doors to fly open and exhibit the gorgeous display to the astonished gaze of the world. The capital of this company is \$9,000,000, of which the state owns three-fifths. The whole of this work is now under contract, and is to be completed by the first day of January, 1855. Before that day, however, the rich products of the southwest—its salt, lead, copper, iron, gypsum, coals of various kinds, &c., &c., will have commenced to pour through this grand thoroughfare in a stream that will waken the drowsy energies of commerce in our old mother state, and quicken the already active pulse of trade in our own thriving city. From the large and increasing business which this road is now doing in tonnage and travel, we feel authorized in putting it down as an 8 per cent. stock: some think it will pay even more."

The following embodies many beautiful thoughts, and is one of the most appropriate tributes ever received by the old "Father of Waters." It is from the pen of a young poetess, whose laurels are clustering thick, and who, in the fulness of time, must become one of the first stars in our literary constellation. She is at present one of the editors of the Ladies' Book, published in New-Orleans, a monthly, beautifully printed and illustrated, and quite equal to and more worthy of patronage at home than any of those of the North.

THE MISSISSIPPI.*

Strong, deep, restless, through Columbia's heart
Thou rollest, mighty river! coursing on
Like some great, shining thought Omnipotence
Has awakened in its depths.

Sublime, serene,
Through summer's gorgeousness, or winter's gloom,
When glassing back the sunshine, or the dark
And tempest-tossed battalions in the sky—
And like a great soul, beautifully calm,
When star-showers fall, as though the frenzied gods
Would weep upon thy bosom tears of flame.

Most beautiful art thou! majestic
And panoplied in grandeur, by repose,
As others by the tempest. Thine is not
The crested multitude of warrior-waves
That boom and battle on the "stormy Gulf;"
The wild Atlantic billows, shivering white
Upon deceitful breakers, murmuring
Low curses round their torturers; nor yet
The rush of rapids, gloom and glory blent,

* It has been decided that the name Mississippi is composed of two words, *Measse* (great,) and *Seppie* (river,) consequently the original signification is the "Great River," and not the "Father of Waters."

Where might and madness struggle in the heart
Of dread Niagara. But glorious
And lovely as the "Milky Way"—the stream
Of light that courses through a starry land
And far beyond the night-cloud, is to thee
What leaves of heaven are to the loved on earth!
Thou too art flowing through the "land of stars,"
A blessed bond of "Union." Never may
Its links be sundered, till the sky-stream fades
In ether, and its golden shores dissolve
To nothingness!

Tell us, when far away
In Time's gray dawning, still the nations slept,
Did'st thou all proudly cleave the wilderness,
As sweeps a mighty vision through the brain
Of slumbering Titan! Tribes of long ago
Whose path of empire lies amid the clouds
Of mystery, have fled, and left no voice
To whisper their glories. Warrior-chiefs
Whose council-circle on thy margin shone,
The Indian maid whose shallop swept thy wave,
Swift as the swallow's pinion, too have passed!
As foam from off the billow. Now the Power
That rules an iron-arteried domain—
Sails with the steam-fiend—chains the fiery tongue
Whose voice is in the hurricane—and make
A slave of wild impossibility—
The Genius of my country furls his wing
O'er thy broad bosom. Still thou art the same,
And hoary centuries shall fall, like plumes
Slow-dropping from the weary wing of Time,
Yet leave thee changeless, proud, and stately stream.

No haughty heights are here, like those that pour
Red lava to the equinoctial sun,
No mural palisades of iron ice
As curb the surges of the frozen Pole;
Yet one may stand on thy long, wooded shores,
And, from the summit of some mountain thought
Gaze forth upon a continent of time,
Beholding too, how dark behind it lies
Eternity inscrutable—before
Eternity incomprehensible.

Thou hast a voice, proud river, and my soul
Springs forth to meet its lessons, like a child
To meet its mother's smile. The morning brings
Thy soft, clear hallelujah, and my heart
Echoes in unison, "praise God! praise God!"
The deep meridian reigneth, light, and strength,
Have met upon the waters, teaching me
That power is only greatness, when 'tis blent
With truth immutable. 'Tis midnight lone,
Yet, bearing on the steamer's stately form,
I hear thy never-resting waters flow,
And murmur as they glide—"oh! weary not,
Life lies in action, and the use of Time
Is DESTINY."

Mr. Thompson of the *Literary Messenger* has in preparation a work to be entitled the "Authors and Writers of the South," which, with brief biographies, will include selections, etc. The Messenger itself is one of the best repositories of such material, and is deserving of a circulation in every part of the Union.

We regret to understand that the *Southern Quarterly Review* is not sustained so well as its eminent merits should claim. Mr. Simms has labored assiduously in the service of the work, and has deserved a better reward from the Southern people. As an author he has been untiring, and the most of his illustrations have been taken at home. We have before us now his last work, entitled the "Sword and Distaff," a capital story, the chief incidents of which are of the revolutionary period, and are located in South Carolina. No man of his age in America has

written so much as Mr. Simms, and many of his novels have had wide and deserved reputation both in this country and in Europe. In the same position with the Quarterly is the *Literary Gazette*, to which Mr. Simms contributes, and which is edited by Mr. Hayne, one of the most talented gentlemen and finished *belles-lettres* scholars yet sent out by our old alma mater, the College of Charleston.

The New-Orleans Medical Journal speaks consolingly of the future prospects of New-Orleans. It regards the yellow fever as accidental and not original, and a disease that may be expelled by sanitary regulations. The summer which has just passed has been one of unusual health. The following is the list of deaths for the weeks ending

1838.	Cholera.	Fever.	Y.Fev.	Total.
Aug. 21.....	12.....	27.....	6.....	135
" 28.....	18.....	33.....	2.....	158
Sept. 4.....	14.....	34.....	11.....	149
" 11.....	30.....	48.....	15.....	173
" 18.....	35.....	35.....	19.....	194
" 25.....	28.....	55.....	23.....	209
Oct. 2.....	9.....	46.....	23.....	154
" 9.....	12.....	61.....	35.....	175
" 16.....	11.....	66.....	50.....	180
"				
Total.....	170	400	184	1328

In Charleston, on the other hand, the present season has been disastrous in many respects, though more from false and exaggerated rumors than from the actual mortality. The first case of yellow fever took place, says the Charleston Medical Journal, on the 8th August, from that period the deaths ranged from 15 to 45 weekly, and the total of deaths up to 1st November, when the disease ceased, was 279. The number of deaths in 1838, before the city and Neck were consolidated, was 353. The disease was, for the most part, in its fatal effects, confined to the Irish and other foreign residents.

When in Philadelphia last summer we were presented by Mr. Job Tyson, whose acquaintance we were happy to form, with a copy of his admirable "Letters on the Resources of Philadelphia," addressed to the British Consul, Mr. Peter. The letters are classical as well as statistical, and we shall hereafter extract liberally from them. Mr. Tyson also presented us a copy of his address before the Girard College.

Prof. Holmes, of the College of Charleston, who was kind enough to exhibit to us the magnificent museum of natural history and geology which has been collected in one of the halls of the institution, presented us at the same time a copy of his report upon the nature of the "Borings" now being conducted by Capt. Moffitt, at the bar of Charleston, in order to remove the impediment to its navigation. In the opinion of Capt. Moffitt, the existence of a bed of calcareous or limestone rock in the channel would greatly promote

the chances of success in deepening the Bar, a matter of vital importance to Charleston if she would carry out her steamship lines to Europe, etc. The same importance attaches to our own movements at the mouth of the Mississippi, as was fully shown in our December No., and we are glad to see that a Tow Boat Company have now undertaken the work for the money appropriated by Congress. In regard to Charleston, Prof. Holmes says:

"The borings have been made, the extension of these beds of calcareous limestone rocks proven, and the practicability of deepening the Bar is no longer a doubtful question.

"It would be presumption in me, even to intimate the mode of accomplishing this great desideratum, but with deference I may be permitted to suggest, that the excavation be extended to eight or nine feet below the surface of the calcareous bed, which is of such consistency as to resist the erosive action of currents and waves, and preserve the walls of the submarine canal.

"The sand accumulating with the flood tide, will undoubtedly be removed by the four-knot current of the ebb."

In the October number of the Review we extracted a page or two from the work of Mr. Wheeler, on the *History of North Carolina*, and by mistake credited to Mr. Williams. The work has had extensive circulation, and is well worth the study and perusal of the very many citizens not only of our state, but of the whole valley of the Mississippi, who have emigrated from the good, old and unpretending State of North Carolina, and who are proud of their "fatherland." It proves that North Carolina was the first state of the old thirteen, upon which the colonists landed (in 1584), the first in which the blood of the colonists was spilled in defence of the principles of liberty (in 1771), and the first to declare their independence of the English crown at Charlotte, in May, 1775.

We have lately received in pamphlet form two addresses upon the death of *Henry Clay*, one by W. H. MacFarland, Esq., of Richmond, and the other by Alexander McClung, of Miss. They are both interesting productions, reflecting honor upon the heads as well as hearts of their authors. Mr. MacFarland tells us, "as we meditate upon the illustrious life of Mr. Clay, our faith in the reality of public virtue, and in the certainty of Christian truth, grows stronger." Mr. McClung, most eloquently and truthfully adds: "His memory needs no monument. He wants no mausoleum of stone or marble to imprison his sacred dust. Let him rest amid the tokens of the freedom he so much loved. Let him sleep on where the whistling of the tameless winds—the ceaseless roll of the murmuring waters—the chirping of the wild bird, and all which speaks of liberty, may chant his eternal lullaby."

Jefferson Davis delivered the last annual address before the *Societies of the University of Mississippi*. The effort was worthy of his reputation as a man of high intellect and scholarship, a good citizen and pure patriot. His concluding remarks are worthy of note:

"If I am competent to form an opinion in a case where I am certainly not free from prejudice, there is enough of talent, enough of energy in the youth of Mississippi to warrant the expectation that they will reach the highest degree of attainment, and in their day and generation, as circumstances may permit, fill the brightest pages of their country's history. Such is the cherished hope of him who addresses you. Of him who, as a Mississippian, has spent a large portion of his life in the service of his country; whose heart from youth to age has ever beat responsive to the demands of Mississippi's interest and honor; who has rejoiced in the power and glory of the Union, and loved it for the objects it was established to secure; who has striven against the perversion of its grants, as the means of destroying either the Union, or the more sacred ends for which it was founded, and who now appeals to you by all that is ennobling in the memories of the past, and inspiring in the anticipations of the future, that you will address yourselves earnestly to that highest duty of a citizen, to know and to maintain the permanent welfare of his country; and that, at whatever sacrifice, you will discharge your trust to guard and to uphold the principles confided to your care as an inheritance for all posterity."

The Rev. J. H. Thornwell's *Report on the Subject of Slavery*, preached to the Synod of South Carolina, is a masterly paper, which, whilst it defends the rights of the South, marks out the duty of the Christian master in all the matters of moral and religious culture of the slave, &c. The South has an important part to perform, and will conscientiously do it, if left alone by the meddlesome and officious people who have hitherto so much interfered with the true happiness of the negro. The *Lemmon case* in New-York is the last of these acts of aggression, and it would have set the South on fire again but for the liberal and patriotic course of the merchants of New-York, who, in raising the amount necessary to indemnify the master for the loss of his slaves, and in furnishing the means requisite to carry up the case before the highest court of appeal, evidenced their determination to protect the laws and constitution of their country. We cannot doubt that the opinion of Judge Payne will be reversed as false in principle, subversive of the rights of the South in the Union, and calculated to lead to the most mischievous consequences. We cannot quit this subject without recurring to a case which happened

during our stay in New-York last summer, and of which the particulars were furnished us at the time. Mr. Simonds, of New-Orleans, executor under the will of Mr. Creswell, arrived in New-York with thirty-eight slaves for the purpose of emancipating them. His plan of sending them into the country was interfered with by the abolitionists, who persuaded the negroes that the purpose was again to sell them into slavery. The largest proportion of them therefore refused to go. Having interrogated Mr. Simonds in regard to their condition afterwards, we received in reply a note, from which a brief extract will be interesting:

"Most, if not all, of those that refused to leave the city of New-York have done very badly. Some are in the most abject and degraded condition. Several of them have begged me to take them back with me—saying I might keep them as slaves, or sell them—that they were happy before and wretched now."

"There was, among these emancipated slaves, a very interesting quadroon girl, about 12 years old, in whom I had taken special interest. Agreeably to her wish, I had procured her a most desirable situation. A highly respectable merchant of New-Orleans had agreed to take her to Vermont to his mother, who had no young children, to be by her brought up and educated as one of the family. Accordingly the gentleman started with her from New-Orleans in companionship with his own daughter, of about the same age. I was to meet him in New-York, and furnish the girl with her emancipation papers. But on the gentleman's arriving at Buffalo, and just before the steamer landed, the emancipated girl was kidnapped by abolitionists, transferred to a British steamer and conveyed to Canada."

"The gentleman having her in charge, employed an attorney-at-law, and spent several days in the endeavor to recover her. He went over to Canada, and ascertained where she was, but was not permitted to see her. He was even in imminent danger of being mobbed."

"In the New-York Tribune of July 19th, is published a letter, dated St. Catharine's, Canada, *boasting* of the abduction and rescue from a slaveholder."

"On my arrival at New-York with the other slaves, a friend showed me the letter in the 'Tribune,' and informed me that he had addressed the writer, stating the facts, and urging him to send the girl to New-York, to be properly disposed of by me. In the answer, which he afterwards received and showed me, he met with a flat refusal and a volley of abuse of the 'inhuman and hellish slaveholders.'"

"I presume the girl is still in Canada. Whatever may be her condition, it cannot be any better than that I had secured for her."

J. W. Randolph, of Richmond, sends us a copy of a *Plantation and Farm Book*, which he has published, the object of which is to promote the more systematic management of our estates. It contains blank pages, ruled and lettered for inventories of negroes, stock, utensils, products, etc., with rules and regulations in regard to a hundred matters of plantation management and detail. In truth, we consider it an invaluable work for planters. It can be had from J. B. Steel, of New-Orleans. We shall refer to it again.

Through T. L. White, Bookseller, New-Orleans, we have received several of the valuable series of scientific and practical works, which Henry C. Baird, of Philadelphia, is now issuing from the press. These volumes are handsomely executed, and they are calculated to advance very greatly the progress of the arts in our country, by diffusing the most valuable practical information at an insignificant cost. The volumes before us embrace:

1. *The Arts of Tanning and Leather Dressing*, from the French, with emendations and additions by Campbell Morfit, chemist, with 200 engravings, 550 pages. The volume is prefaced with a portrait of Zadoc Pratt, the great American tanner, and gives all the details of his extensive operations.

2. *Electrotype Manipulation*, or the theory and practice of working in metals, by C. V. Walker, with wood-cuts.

3. *Complete Practical Brewer*, by Dr. M. L. Byrn.

4. *Pyrotechnist's Companion*, or a familiar system of recreative fire-works, by G. W. Mortimer.

5. *Rural Chemistry*, in relation to agriculture and the arts of life, by Edmund Solly, F. R. S. A very valuable volume for planters, who should all study it.

6. *A Treatise on Screw Propellers*, and their steam-engines, with rules to calculate or construct the same; and also, a *Treatise on Bodies in motion in fluid*, by J. W. Mystrom.

We have been favored with a paper from J. W. Scott, of Toledo, one of the best statistical writers in the country, upon the commerce of that city, which shall appear in our next, when we expect also to resume the publication of the interesting papers upon "*Taxation, Ancient and Modern*," which have been interrupted, as the author, Judge Shortridge, informs us, by unavoidable causes.

CLOSING NOTE.

Subscribers to the Review, who have not paid up their dues, will ask themselves if it is fair and just to us. In the universal prosperity of the country now, towards which our

labors for many years have contributed, ought we not to be among the very first remembered! What we ask is small, and has been earned ten times over. Remittances are frequently neglected from an oversight. Many think that another time will do as well, and thus they embarrass us without serving themselves. Our bills have all gone out—we ask the money or orders upon merchants, assuming ourselves all risks, and acknowledging payments on the cover. If there are errors in accounts, we are prepared to correct—if numbers have not been received, we are prepared to supply them. In fact, we want to do everything that is right, and want every one to do the same to us. Our expenses have been greatly increased in the improvements now made upon the Review.

Again, we solicit orders for the new work we have published, entitled *INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH AND WEST*, of which, prospectus appears in another place, and of which the general index appeared in December number. It is embraced in three large and beautifully bound volumes, and supplies a mass of information which can be had from no other source. It is intended to bind the volumes of the Review, hereafter, every six months, uniformly with these, and no subscriber should be without the complete set. We have incurred an enormous expense upon the work, and appeal to the friends of the South for reimbursement. Subscribers who wish their volumes of the Review bound, can always have it done at the office, at cost. We trust it will not be considered immodest, from the numerous complimentary letters which the publication of the "*Industrial Resources*" has induced, to extract from one addressed to us by the Hon. George Bancroft, the brilliant historian of the United States, a man whose good opinions upon such matters are very gratifying to us to have won. He says:

"Be assured, I value exceedingly the work you were so good as to send me, both as evidence of your kindness, as also, for the wonderfully rich and carefully prepared information with which it abounds. If the statistics and past and future of the South and Southwest have been less displayed than those of the North, it can be said so no longer. Your work exceeds in merit any similar one with which I am acquainted, in any other part of the Union.

"It will be a work to which I shall constantly look for instruction and for a solid foundation for my habitual and ever unshaken confidence in the durability of the Union and the glorious future that awaits the near development of its resources."

PEABODY'S

CELEBRATED ACCLIMATED HOVEY'S
Seedling Strawberry Plants.

I am now prepared to deliver plants of this wonderful Strawberry, that produces fruit six and eight months in the year—fruit of monstrous size and exquisite flavor. I will pack them in moss and earth to go safely to any part of the Southern country, and deliver them at the stage office, on board steamboat, or at the rail-road depot, at \$4 per hundred plants, with a sufficient quantity of the Large Early Scarlet, put up with them, to insure impregnation; or \$20 per thousand plants. These plants may be transplanted as late as the first of March, but the sooner now, the better.

These plants have been in fruit since the 25th of March, and are now, November 16th, in full flower and fruit. Packages of plants may be sent with safety to Montgomery and Mobile, Ala., by rail-road and steamboat, to New-Orleans by steam, via Apalachicola, to Savannah and Charleston, and from thence to any of the interior towns having communication with these cities. Orders, accompanied with the cash, will receive prompt attention.

For full directions in Strawberry culture at the South, see *Soil of the South*, published at Columbus, Ga., at \$1 per annum.

CHARLES A. PEABODY,
Columbus, Ga.

PLANTATION BOOK.

J. W. Randolph,
RICHMOND, VA.,

Has published the *Plantation and Farm Instruction, Regulation, Record, Inventory and Account Book*, for the use of managers of estates, and for the better ordering and management of plantation and farm business, in every particular, by a Southern Planter. Order is Heaven's first law.—*Pope*. Price \$2, or six for \$10; a larger edition for the use of cotton plantations, price \$2 50, or five for \$10.

CONTENTS.—Actual number of pounds to a Bushel, articles received for use of Plantation, Brick Kiln, Births of Negroes, Balance Sheet, Cows, Cultivation, Contents of a Corn Crib, Clothing to Negroes, Diameter of a Horse Mill, Deaths of Negroes, Directions how to use this Book, Expenses and Sales for the Year, Form of a Contract with Manager, Force of a Draught Horse, Horses, Hogs, Instructions to Managers, Implements, Journal or Daily Record, Medicines, Manure Tables, Mechanical Power, Effect of the Labor of an Active Man, Inventory of Negroes, Oxen, Washington's Letter to his Steward, Plantation Management, Police, Plowing Rules, Planting Distances, Physician's Visits, Quantity and Value of Produce Made, Quantity of Work of a Man and Two Horses, Rules for the Government and Discipline of the Negroes, Rotation Tables for Cultivation of Crops, Rural Economy, Sheep, Steam Engines, Stock and Implements, Tools, &c. used by the Negroes, Weight of Materials, Weights and Measures, Wind Mills, Water Wheels, When a Horse Draws to Advantage, &c.

There are extra sheets for monthly and yearly reports, for the use of those who do not live on their farms. The Book will be sent by mail free of postage to any one who will remit the price in money or postage stamps to 121 Main-street.

This book is one of the best and most systematic farmers in Virginia; and experienced farmers have expressed the opinion, that those who use it will save hundreds of dollars.

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